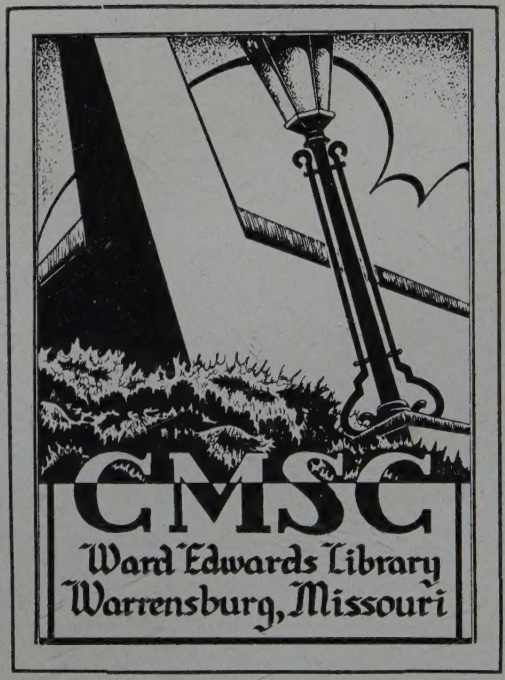
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COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The Social Workers' Library
J. L. GILLIN, Editor

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

A STUDY OF ITS THEORY AND CURRENT PRACTICE

BY

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PREFACE

The rapid growth of interest in the general field of community organization stands out as one of the striking characteristics of American life during the decade that has elapsed since the outbreak of the World War. This movement, initiated largely by the social workers and at first confined almost entirely to social work activities, has gradually extended its scope and made increasingly clear its real significance as a factor in social progress.

The few books that have already appeared in this field have been primarily essays designed to set forth their authors' conceptions of the subject and have made no attempt to discuss the whole movement in a systematic and comprehensive manner. The recent inclusion of courses in community organization in the curricula of universities and schools of social work has created a need for a general survey of this field suitable for the use of students. This book, which is an effort to meet this need, grew out of the author's course in community organization given during the past four years at the School of Public Welfare of the University of North Carolina and the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago. The material, therefore, has been tested out many times in classes composed of graduate and professional students and owes a very considerable portion of whatever value it may possess to their suggestions and especially to their carefully prepared analyses of community situations, which have been freely drawn upon in the preparation of a number of the chapters.

Attention should be called to the fact that changes in the status of communities and social groups in general take place

94067

so frequently that it is more or less unsatisfactory to give concrete examples illustrating points under discussion. Furthermore, reports of community undertakings are not always made by competent and unbiased observers. Just as in the field of ethnology, community organization has often suffered through inaccurate descriptions of situations and events, which, when published, are regarded as authoritative and become the basis for further action. Care has been taken in the sifting of the concrete material included in the text, but there always remains the possibility of being misled by information that is not entirely reliable.

No effort was made in Part II to include everything that might very properly be regarded as belonging in the field of community organization. All that was attempted was to make the list representative of the more significant types of experiments which have been influential in determining the course of development of the whole movement.

A general survey of this nature, which covers such a wide range of topics, must necessarily omit much material essential for class discussion. The carefully selected bibliography given at the conclusion of each chapter is intended to overcome this deficiency and should be used by the students as a guide in securing the detailed information needed for a well rounded view of the subjects under consideration.

Portions of several of the chapters have been published in recent issues of *The Journal of Social Forces* and *The Journal of Applied Sociology*. Thanks are due the editors of these Journals for permission to include this material in the book.

J. F. Steiner.

University of Chicago

INTRODUCTION

Social work has passed its infancy. It may not be past its adolescence, but it is developing rapidly. It has become conscious of its powers. It sees the fields of its opportunity. It is becoming sobered and steadied by experience. It is seeking guidance to meet its increasing responsibilities.

For some time social workers have felt the need of good books on various aspects of social work. Much material has appeared in various magazines and other ephemeral publications, but there have been very few books. Mary Richmond's *Social Diagnosis* and her later *What is Social Case Work?*, Mrs. Sheffield's *The Social Case History*, Halbert's *What is Professional Social Work?*, and Miss Cannon's *Social Work in Hospitals* are the first fruits of a harvest of experience in social work. Their usefulness to social workers and teachers has demonstrated how great is the need of such books. This series, of which Professor Steiner's volume is the first, is intended to supply certain gaps in the field.

One of the vexing problems of the social worker's life is how to organize the social forces in each community to enable a particular organization to do its best work. Experiments in social organization have been going on for some years. It is time that these experiments be studied and evaluated. They need to be carefully described; it should be pointed out where they have failed and where they have succeeded; and, if possible, certain principles which become clear in the study of the experiments should now be deduced. Principles of social organization cannot be drawn out of the air or spun out of the imagination of the writer. To be of any value they must rest upon a careful comparative study. Professor

Steiner has performed such a service in the present book. He has carefully studied a sufficient variety of experiments in community organization to arrive at certain sound principles for community workers of whatever sort. Thus he brings together in one volume material scattered throughout many fugitive sources, discovers the lessons which these experiments teach and points out the principles to be learned from a consideration of them. It is a comparative and critical study of actual experiments in community organization.

Professor Steiner has not attempted to investigate the technique of community organization in any particular locality. Such an investigation is also needed in order to see in the flesh and blood of a case study of a community what difficulties are met in the social psychology of a local community and in the clashing of the interests of diverse personalities and groups. It is likewise needed in order to learn something of the technique of leadership. This phase of the subject will be treated in a later publication of The Social Workers' Library. The present book is rather a broad, comparative study of various types of organization based upon a sociological analysis of the community. Both are needed. The one will supplement the other.

Courses in community organization are now being given in a large number of training schools for social workers and in some colleges and universities. As a text for such courses this volume will be valuable to those who have been struggling with the question of how to teach the subject. It will likewise be of inestimable value to workers in the field who are face to face with the problem of organizing their work in accordance with sound principles and are seeking the coordination of the various social forces in the community. In thus making available to teachers and social workers this material Professor Steiner has performed a real service.

J. L. Gillin.

CONTENTS

PART I

THE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	Backgrounds of the Community Movement	3
II	The Community as a Social Unit . . .	15
III	Community Disorganization	30
IV	Community Solidarity	55
V	Conservatism in Community Development .	70
VI	Influence of Economic Factors on Community Change	88

PART II

TYPICAL EXPERIMENTS IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

VII	Early Beginnings of Community Organization	101
	I. The Coördination of Relief Agencies.	
	II. The Social Settlement Movement.	
VIII	The Playground and Recreation Movement	120
IX	The School Community Center Movement	136
X	The Country Life Movement	152
XI	The Federation of Social Agencies . . .	170
	I. Central Council of Social Agencies.	
	II. The Financial Federation.	

CHAPTER PAGE
XII The Social Survey 188
XIII The Community Church Movement . . . 204
XIV The American Red Cross 218
XV The Cincinnati Social Unit Organization . 239
XVI Industrial Welfare Movement 254
XVII The Public Welfare Movement 273
XVIII The Public Health Movement 285
XIX Coördination of State and National Agencies 299

PART III

THEORIES AND PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

XX The Philosophy of Community Organization 319
XXI Theories of Community Organization . . 330
XXII Community Organization and the Crowd Spirit 347
XXIII Summary of Principles of Community Organization 359
XXIV Limitations of the Community Organization Movement 368
XXV Professional Preparation for Community Work 378

Index 391

PART I

THE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUNDS OF THE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT

An exhaustive search into the backgrounds of the modern community movement might well begin with the rise of humanitarian work under primitive conditions and trace its development through successive stages, from its first manifestations in the custom of mutual aid within the tribe, until the philanthropic impulse under Christian influence broke down barriers of place and caste and gave service wherever need was found. Without doubt these long centuries of sentimental philanthropy, however limited and ineffective it may have been, prepared the way for more constructive efforts in recent years to deal more adequately with social problems. But with these more remote backgrounds of the community movement we are not here primarily concerned. Our chief interest for purposes of this discussion lies rather in the rapid changes in social philosophy and social practice during the past half century, which have led to a more general appreciation of the significance of community work as a means of improving social conditions.

Breakdown of Laissez Faire.—Fifty years ago the individualistic philosophy set forth by writers like Humboldt and Spencer had not been successfully challenged. In America the doctrine of laissez faire found a brilliant advocate in Sumner of Yale, whose book, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other,* published in 1883, elaborated the thesis that the development of society is beyond voluntary control and

that the wisest procedure therefore is to "mind your own business". His fundamental assumption was that social as well as organic evolution is almost entirely an automatic, spontaneous process which cannot be greatly modified by social effort. The following passage from his essay, "The Absurd Attempt to Make the World Over", states in his vivid style the point of view of laissez faire with reference to social control:

"If this poor old world is as bad as they say, one more reflection may check the zeal of the headlong reformer. It is at any rate a tough old world. It has taken its trend and curvature and all its twists and tangles from a long course of formation. All its wry and crooked gnarls and knobs are therefore stiff and stubborn. If we puny men by our arts can do anything at all to straighten them, it will be only by modifying the tendencies of some of the forces at work, so that, after a sufficient time, their action may be changed a little and slowly the lines of movement may be modified. This effort, however, can at most be only slight, and it will take a long time. In the meantime spontaneous forces will be at work, compared with which our efforts are like those of a man trying to deflect a river, and these forces will have changed the whole problem before our interferences have time to make themselves felt. The great stream of time and earthly things will sweep on just the same in spite of us. It bears with it now all the errors and follies of the past, the wreckage of all the philosophies, the fragments of all the civilizations, the wisdom of all the abandoned ethical systems, the debris of all the institutions, and the penalties of all the mistakes. It is only in imagination that we stand by and look at and criticize it and plan to change it. Every one of us is a child of his age and cannot get out of it. He is in the stream and is swept along with it. All his sciences and philosophy come to him out of it. Therefore the tide will not be changed by us. It will swallow up both us and our experiments. It will absorb the efforts at change and take them into itself as new but trivial components, and the great movement of tradition and work will go on unchanged by our fads and schemes. The things which will change it are the great discoveries and inventions, the new reactions inside social organism, and the changes in the earth itself on account of changes in the cosmical forces. These causes will make of it just what, in fidelity to them, it ought to be. The men will be carried along with it and be made by it. The utmost they can do by their cleverness will be to note and record their course as they are carried along, which is what we do now, and is that which leads us to the vain fancy that we

can make or guide the movement. That is why it is the greatest folly of which a man can be capable, to sit down with a slate and pencil to plan out a new social world.'"[1]

The first outstanding writer to combat this position was Lester F. Ward, whose *Dynamic Sociology* was published in 1883. With a wealth of argument from the field of physical science, Ward drove home his contention that social forces are a reality and that through their conscious direction man can shape the course of social evolution. Modern thought has followed Ward rather than Spencer and Sumner. Man's understanding of nature and control over natural forces are increasingly finding their counterpart in a recognition of the significance of social forces and the possibility of directing them in the interests of human welfare. Laissez faire still appears in various forms but its standing as a philosophy is gone. Future progress, it is now recognized, does not hinge upon cosmic forces beyond man's control. On the contrary, man's progressive development depends on his ability to work out more effective ways of controlling the social process. With the breakdown of laissez faire the modern community movement has been made possible. Men no longer need to stand by as spectators and watch helplessly the drama of life sweep by. By taking thought, planning wisely, and acting together, men have demonstrated the possibility of directing community progress and building communities more in accord with human needs.

Growth of Group Consciousness.—From one point of view the community movement has been a natural result of the decline of individualism and the rise of group consciousness. By 1880 the growing consciousness of the significance of the group and the realization of its fundamental rôle in social activity had proceeded far enough to begin to exert a profound influence on all phases of American life. The field of industry offers a notable example of this increasing trend toward group organization. The introduction of improved

[1] *War and Other Essays*, p. 195.

machinery, the use of steam and electricity, better means of communication and transportation, and similar factors revolutionized the older methods that had long been familiar to the industrial world. Individualism no longer could maintain itself successfully and combinations and corporations of all kinds began to demonstrate the power of group action in industrial affairs.

This industrial development increased the concentration of people in cities and gave new significance and prominence to the problems of labor. Group consciousness arose among the laboring people and this new need and desire for solidarity found expression in such organizations as the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. This rapid and effective organization of the working classes throughout the country is one of the best illustrations of the modern tendency toward the formation of groups based upon community of interests.

Additional evidence of the growing sense of group solidarity is found in the trend towards the larger participation of the government in affairs of daily life. Older theories of government have been overturned by this new movement to use governmental machinery for the promotion of the common welfare. In the field of public health, there is full recognition of the principle of group responsibility for the prevention and control of disease. Social legislation has grown by leaps and bounds until it now covers a wide range of activities that an earlier age would have regarded as belonging entirely to individual control. This new expression of group interest in social welfare as seen in child labor laws, regulation of public utilities, and municipal control of parks, libraries, hospitals, and public welfare organizations represents a new field of development far removed from earlier conceptions of the function of government in human affairs.

This growth of group consciousness might still further be traced through the whole range of community life. It can be readily seen in the schools, which insist upon a certain

measure of community control in order that education may be made more effective. The churches in a similar manner emphasize in addition to salvation of the individual the social reconstruction of the community. In all departments of life there has developed a fuller recognition of the need of group solidarity and of the power of the group when it works together for a carefully planned goal. All this is a modern achievement which has come about, for the most part, during the past fifty years.

The Group Approach to Social Problems.—"Whatever social problem we confront," says Small, "whatever persons come into our field of view, the first questions involved will always be: To what group do these persons belong? What are the interests of these groups? What sort of means do the groups use to promote their interests? How strong are these groups as compared with groups that have conflicting interests? These questions go to the tap root of all social interpretation, whether in the case of historical events far in the past or of the most practical problems of our own neighborhood."[2]

This insistence on the importance of group relationships strikes a new note not characteristic of the earlier efforts to save society through redemption of the individual. Instead of attempting to solve the social problem by means of manipulation of individuals, attention must be directed to the creation of conditions favorable to the development of the right kind of people. The group, therefore, becomes the strategic point of attack. When an individual breaks down in the struggle of life, it is not enough to study the personal causes of his failure. A complete picture of the whole situation must include also full knowledge of his social contacts through his family, club, lodge, church, neighborhood and business organizations, and other means of association with his fellows. Constructive efforts to restore him to normal life must pay due attention to the nature of his group relationships and to the possibility of modifying them in a way that may appear desirable.

[2] *General Sociology*, p. 495.

Many further illustrations might be brought forward showing how the group approach is becoming increasingly common. In modern education, the end in view is to fit the child into the life of the community instead of regarding the task accomplished when a certain amount of information has been gained or culture imparted. This appears in the new emphasis on vocational guidance and in the efforts to connect the traditional subjects in the curriculum with the daily experience of the child. Similarly in the field of crime, the responsibility of the community for anti-social conduct is becoming more widely accepted. Environment as well as personal causes of crime are being given serious consideration. In the administration of state prisons the development of the mutual welfare league as over against the honor system is an example of the use that is sometimes made of the group in bringing about the reformation of the criminal. The entire procedure of the juvenile court system is based upon the necessity of placing the delinquent child in the right kind of group relationships. City planning, improvement of housing conditions, development of parks and playgrounds, coöperative marketing, good roads associations, and the multitude of other projects designed to improve conditions of life show clearly the modern trend in dealing with problems affecting the community.

All this does not mean that the responsibility of the individual is being unduly minimized or that appeals to individual effort are not to be made. It simply indicates a growing belief that the individual does not stand alone, but is being constantly acted upon by the social environment in which he is placed. Social problems that find their cause in sickness or poverty are no longer thought of as sent from God, nor is the treatment of their victims determined by their classification as worthy or unworthy. On the contrary, such problems are regarded as amenable to collective action. They are group rather than individual problems, and are to be approached from the point of view of the entire community. The pro-

gress made in this direction during the past few decades has paved the way for the development of the community movement.

Social Work and the Community Movement.—The whole history of humanitarian work indicates the close relationship between the need for individual adjustments on the one hand and environmental modifications on the other. In the following description of the essential nature of social work, Porter R. Lee makes very clear these two aspects of the social problem:

"The subject matter of social work is the adjustment of men to their environment. This is a large field. It carries us all the way from the task of assisting an individual whose own powers of adjustment have become impaired to the task of studying and modifying some widespread condition such as low wages, which may impair in men their power to make such adjustments. The problem of adjustment to environment is the problem of life. Into its solution the individual puts his entire equipment for life—his tastes, his ambitions, his ideals, his intelligence, his physical powers, his knowledge, his hobbies, his culture, his craving for companionship. His problem of adjustment is solved to just the extent that he is able to effect a satisfying working relationship between these things, which are himself, and the experiences, opportunities, material factors, and other human beings, which are his environment.

"The necessity for social work arises because of the difficulties faced by men in making this adjustment. These difficulties are sometimes in the man and sometimes in the environment. Some factors of the environment bear too heavily upon all men, some bear too heavily upon a smaller number. Some highly equipped individuals succeed in their adjustment because of their equipment, others fail because such equipment has never been highly enough developed in them although it might have been. A large part of social work is conducted with the purpose of softening the effect of environmental factors which bear with undue severity upon all men; another large part of social work aims at the development of greater resourcefulness in all men in meeting environmental demands. The greater part of social work, however, is at present devoted to the development of a higher degree of adjusting power in those persons who are most handicapped by environment or a modification of those particular environmental factors which handicap them."[3]

[3] Lee, "Providing Teaching Material," *National Conference Social Work*, 1920, p. 466.

In so far as social work has to do with adjustment to environment, it is clear that the need for such adjustment has increased as civilization has become more complex. As long as people lived in small and more or less isolated groups, mutual aid prompted by a natural feeling of neighborliness was sufficient to look out for the interests of those overtaken by misfortune. The intimate associations of the primary group developed a feeling of responsibility for the welfare of those living within this circle, and made unnecessary any formal organization for the relief of distress.

But with the development of cities and especially with the more rapid growth of population, primary group life began to break down and individuals became detached from their customary associations. At first, these detached people were looked upon with hostility, and when they became dependent were ruthlessly punished. Official measures for their relief often took the form of laws aimed at the repression of mendicancy. The first beginning of social work in its modern sense is seen when well-established groups began to have a feeling of responsibility for the welfare of outsiders. Without doubt, the religious doctrine of almsgiving, developed during the Middle Ages, greatly stimulated the growth of philanthropic activities. The widely accepted belief that religious merit was earned through the giving of alms to the poor and helpless, whoever they happened to be, played its part in enlarging the field of service far beyond its earlier provincial boundaries. Religious forces championed the cause of the weak, and laid the foundations upon which social work later was to be built.[4]

As mobility of people increased following the Industrial Revolution, life became more impersonal and anonymous. Dependency and poverty grew more and more serious, until religious charity proved entirely inadequate and the State itself was powerless to deal with the situation. Out of the stress of this problem there grew up in the last quarter of

[4] Cf. Queen, *Social Work in the Light of History*, pp. 314-16.

the nineteenth century a change of emphasis from the individual to the environment. A more insistent demand arose for improvements in the social, economic, and political organization so that fewer weak persons would be forced to the wall. The public had learned through painful experience the futility of salvage, and was determined to put into effect more constructive methods. The social case workers themselves were outstanding leaders in bringing this lesson home to the people. The two great humanitarian movements of the last century, the Charity Organization Society and the Social Settlements, joined hands as advocates of housing reform, public health measures, and social legislation designed to get at the root of existing evils. Under their tutelage, organizations to deal with these problems came into existence, which laid emphasis upon prevention of distress instead of upon cure of the victims of disaster. As agencies of this type grew in influence, they quite naturally assumed the community rather than the individual point of view, and thus prepared the way for what came to be known as the community movement.

The Scientific Method and Social Work.—Another important factor that entered into the formation of the community movement was the application of scientific method to the solution of social problems. The scientific development which came into prominence during the nineteenth century found its first expression in the field of social work through the use of case work technique in dealing with individuals and families in distress. In this new type of social work sentiment was displaced by science, and for the first time emphasis was laid on an adequate study of facts as a necessary prerequisite of social treatment. During the past 50 years, largely through the influence of social case work, there has gradually been built up a scientific attitude toward social problems which marks a new era in organized efforts to bring about their solution.

This new attitude can be seen in the changes that have

taken place in the formulation of policies for the care of the abnormal. The time has not been long distant when county almshouses were filled indiscriminately with paupers, feeble-minded, insane, and children. Their helplessness was accepted as inevitable, and few efforts were made to alleviate their hard lot. The application of science to this problem has brought convincing evidence of the necessity of differentiating between types of dependents and defectives, and has indicated the treatment that should be accorded to each. Studies made of the criminal reveal the existence of various types, each of which must be dealt with according to its peculiar needs. Scientific work in this field has not yet proceeded far enough to lead to widely accepted conclusions, but already new principles of punishment have been formulated, and more intelligent efforts are being made to reform those guilty of anti-social conduct.

The scientific attitude also characterizes modern attempts to deal with the problem of poverty. Sociology has shown the complex nature of the whole subject, and the folly of seeking a cure by remedying any single cause. Careful studies based on data gained through social work and research have made available general principles which are used in formulating policies for the treatment of the dependent. Economics has aided in the investigation of such factors as minimum wages, labor problems, unemployment, and industrial organization. Psychology has revealed the large part that low mentality plays in poverty and suggests the necessity of knowledge of far more than economic factors in dealing with this problem.

In the wider grasp of the significance of social problems the influence of the scientific point of view is plainly seen. Instead of social work being a series of independent efforts, the whole field is being correlated so that a consistent and united attack can be made upon the problems at their source. The work of individual agencies stands out more clearly in the right perspective. Social science is always asking what are

the implications growing out of a particular social experiment. It is interested in the philosophy underlying the work attempted, and seeks to determine how the problem has come about, and where it is leading.

In a very real sense, the modern community movement has been made possible through this scientific approach to the study of social problems. As long as philanthropy was ruled by sentiment, the public was interested primarily in relieving the cases of distress that happened to be brought to its attention. With the entrance of scientific method into this field new hopes were built up of rendering a more far-reaching service that would emphasize the prevention rather than the cure of existing evils. Out of this situation the various aspects of community work developed as the logical next step in the effort to build up more wholesome conditions of life.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Through a study of the titles of papers found in the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work,* trace the development of interest in community work during the past 30 years.

2. To what extent do the achievements in social and civic work form a complete answer to Sumner's philosophy as stated in *What Social Classes Owe To Each Other?*

3. Give concrete illustrations showing the modern trend toward group organization. What significance does this emphasis upon the group have for the community movement?

4. Discuss critically Queen's explanation of the early development of social work. (*Social Work in the Light of History,* Chapter 19.)

5. Give examples indicating the progress made by social workers in the use of the scientific method. Has the community movement been characterized by the sentimental or the scientific approach?

94067

6. How do you account for the rapid increase of interest in community organization during the past decade?

7. What other factors beside social work have entered into the formation of the community movement?

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CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY AS A SOCIAL UNIT

What is a Community?—The term community has a varied use and there is seemingly no agreement as to its exact meaning. As it is popularly and loosely used, community refers to a group of people gathered together in any geographical area, whether large or small, and bound together by common interests. Defined in this way community may with equal propriety be applied to a rural locality, a town, city, county, state, or nation. In popular literature this varied use of the term is so prevalent that its exact meaning in any particular instance can be gained only from the context or a qualifying word.

To the rural sociologists we are indebted for painstaking efforts to give definite content to the word community. In general, however, their definitions have been constructed with the rural situation in mind, and as a consequence cannot easily be given wider application. Sanderson, for example, has defined community as the smallest geographical unit of organized association of the chief human activities. From his point of view a city is a mere aggregation of people living together under a city government, and is, therefore, not to be considered a community, although he recognizes there may be several well-defined communities within a city.[1]

This tendency on the part of the rural sociologists to limit the term community to a small and comparatively simple social unit has been combatted by Professor Snedden, who holds that the progress of civilization inevitably brings about an

[1] Sanderson, "Democracy and Community Organization," *Publications American Sociological Society*, 14 : 84-86.

enlargement of community groups, and an extension of community functions. His suggestion to meet this problem is that two fundamental types of communities be recognized, the associate and the federate. The small community where the relationships are face to face is called the associate community. The large city where, of necessity, most of the social contacts are of an impersonal nature is designated a federate community. The fact that the relationships in a city are largely impersonal, does not, thereby, make a city community impossible, for the people are in many ways acting together in behalf of their common interests. They are coöperating in the building of highways, bridges, schools, in the matter of policing, and fire protection, and are usually doing this far more effectively because they are a large unit. It it true that some of the by-products of fellowship are lost in this large community because these activities are no longer on a personal basis. But there is no reason to say that because the unit is too large for personal relations, real community life is impossible. The essential functions of the community go forward usually more efficiently because they are highly organized and are placed in the hands of experts. They are, however, mechanical and impersonal, and this constitutes one of the problems of the city community.[2] This contention of Professor Snedden that the city may properly be regarded as a community is borne out by current usage, as is seen in the fact that the American Association for Community Organization looks upon the city as the unit of work for its local organizations known frequently as community councils, community chests, or community welfare associations.

Another method of approach to a more precise definition of community places emphasis less upon geographical factors than upon the group's recognition of common interests and organized effort to gain desired ends.

[2] Snedden, "Communities, Associate and Federate," *American Journal of Sociology*, 28 : 681.

"The word community signifies a population group which has become socially conscious and is working together as one body to satisfy common needs or ambitions. The real community is one that has organized its population, invented efficient social machinery, and has trained effective social engineers to make use of all its available resources for all the people within a community. In short, a community is a community when it has developed adequate social machinery to connect human needs with available resources."[3]

This effort to limit the term community to these groups that are properly organized and efficient is an interesting suggestion, but too far removed from current practice to have any great value. Of much greater help to the student is Professor Queen's attempt to get at the meaning of community through an analysis of concrete social situations. After describing the outstanding characteristics of typical communities of different kinds, his conclusions are stated in these words:

"If we wish to apply the term community to something that actually exists and that may be found with some frequency, is it not plain that our definition or description must be pretty general? And yet do we wish it to be so general that any and every human aggregation may be called a community? What then shall be the criteria of a community?

"Must a community be so small that every member may know and meet face-to-face every other? Our answer will probably be no, providing that there is a definite medium of communication used by all. In how many sorts of activity must there be common participation? Who shall say? But surely there must be some joint activities. What must be the amount of common tradition and sentiment? Again we are unready to apply the measuring stick, but again we feel certain that there must be an appreciable body of tradition and sentiment shared by the group as a whole.

"We may expect the community to have some symbol of its unity—a 'community center', a leader, a slogan, a reputation for climate or landscape or products. Members of a community need not be hostile toward outsiders, but there will surely be a distinction in their minds and in their actions, marking their dealings with fellow citizens and with outsiders, respectively. We may anticipate that most people will remain members of a community for a considerable time, but who shall

[3] R. E. Diffendorfer, *The Church and the Community*, pp. 4-5. Compare also H. E. Jackson, *The Community Center*.

say how frequently they may move, or what proportion of the population may be transient, and the community survive?

"Can a community exist in the face of divisions, political, religious, national, racial or factional? If there were complete agreement how dull life would be? Yet if divisions be sharp and conflicts bitter, how can there be community of experience? May we say that when rivalries within the local group are overshadowed by conflicts with outsiders then we have a community? But how intense and how devoted must the loyalty of members of a community be?

"Whatever else may be true, it seems safe to say that a community is to be distinguished from a city, a ward, a township, a county, a neighborhood, and from such groups as a trade union, a lodge, a church, a school. It may happen to coincide with any of these, but usually does not and need not. It is a local grouping of people who share a number of important interests and activities, and who are more concerned about those things which they have in common than about those things wherein they differ."[4]

The very pertinent questions raised by Professor Queen indicate some of the serious difficulties that are confronted when an effort is made to define the characteristics of a community in such a way as to apply to different kinds of situations. Perhaps at the present time the best that can be done is to recognize the prevailing uses of the term community and to endeavor to avoid ambiguity by the use of descriptive words, as for example, rural community, urban community, immigrant community, or industrial community. This, at least, seems to be necessary for the student of community organization since this latter term is quite generally applied to such diverse units as the rural school district and large urban areas.

The Meaning of Neighborhood.—The lack of agreement as to the precise meaning of community applies also to the term neighborhood. In fact, community and neighborhood are often used interchangeably.[5] The more careful writers who have tried to give a precise meaning to these terms have pointed out that the neighborhood is to be distinguished from

[4] Queen, "What Is a Community?" *Journal of Social Forces*, May, 1923, p. 381.

[5] For example, Follett, *The New State*.

the community by the fact that the former has no formal organization of activities.[6] It is merely a local group of people living within an area sufficiently compact to make intimate relationship possible. When this unity has its basis in a homogeneity of the people as well as in a common locality, the neighborhood may be regarded as a cultural area with "sentiments, traditions, and a history of its own."[7]

But in addition to this conception of neighborhood as a local group characterized by face-to-face relations, there is a generally recognized tendency to regard as neighborhoods certain well-defined areas in a city which are much too large for primary contacts, but nevertheless possess common characteristics which differentiate them from other parts of the city. Professor McKenzie's discussion of this point is illuminating:

"The segregation of the population within a city along racial, economic, social, and vocational lines tends to give to different local areas at least an external coloring which enables one to draw more or less definite lines of demarkation between them. In the course of time these different areas acquire a sort of homogeneity and a historical continuity which develops a rudimentary sense of self-consciousness. This self-consciousness is usually enhanced if the area acquires a name designating its chief feature of attention, such as Niggertown, Flytown, Little Italy, etc. Such areas are, as a rule, in constant process of change, but since their selective influences attract about the same class of people from year to year their external aspects maintain a somewhat regular form. While districts of this sort vary greatly in size and in social solidarity, and while they may possess but few of the characteristics of the traditional neighborhood, nevertheless they possess sufficient significance from the standpoint of social selection, and have sufficient importance in community organization to warrant some such characterization as the term neighborhood.

"The city neighborhood differs considerably from its traditional prototype in that it represents a much more selected social group. Economic, racial, and cultural forces, by distributing the population into different residential sections, give to the city neighborhood an external appearance of homogeneity that is not frequently found in small villages or rural

[6] Sanderson, "Democracy and Community Organization," *Publications American Sociological Society*, 14 : 86-87.
[7] Park, "The City," *American Journal of Sociology*, 20 : 579.

neighborhoods—a homogeneity, however, as we shall see later, which is more apparent than real. Racial prejudice, national clannishness, and class conflict, all function as social forces to give the city neighborhood what self-consciousness or solidarity it may possess."[8]

This extension of the term neighborhood to include a large district of a city seems logical and defensible, but here again the question arises as to the proper distinction between the neighborhood and the community. While common usage sanctions the use of either term in such a situation, it would appear to be in the interests of clarity and precision to restrict neighborhood to its traditional meaning of a small primary group and designate the large areas of more or less common interests in a city as communities.

Evolution of the Modern Community.—The recent emphasis upon community, community work, community problems, and community organization does not by any means point to the discovery of a new social unit. On the contrary, community represents one of the oldest forms of human association, for people have always tended to live in groups which became settled communities as soon as the nature of their economic life gave relative permanence to their local habitations. The village community was the outstanding social unit in primitive society. Primitive people found community coöperation necessary in order to succeed in their struggle with the hostile forces of nature and their tribal enemies. The isolated residences characteristic of American farming sections were unknown in primitive times. Large urban centers also could not exist in an era when the production of goods was inadequate for the support of large numbers of people. The village in the ancient as well as in the mediaeval world seemed to be a form of grouping well adapted to prevailing conditions, and consequently became the widely accepted pattern of social organization.

The typical village community of the present day is a natural outgrowth of its earlier prototype, although it has been

[8] McKenzie, *The Neighborhood*, pp. 351-353.

greatly modified by changed conditions. No longer is the community based on clan or tribal organization. The communal family groups of the past have been supplanted by communities united on a land or industrial basis rather than by the bonds of blood relationship. The communal life of the past has given way to private ownership. Nevertheless, the modern village community still bears many earmarks of former customs. No farther back than our colonial days fields were held in common for pasturage, village herdsmen took care of the cattle by day, neighboring forest lands were set aside for fuel for the people, and even town dogs were kept for the purpose of killing the wolves.[9] These methods of coöperation, it is true, no longer characterize American communities, but the custom of communal action is still retained in common ownership of public utilities, and in the support of such institutions as the public school. In spite of the disintegrating forces of individualism, the village community continues to occupy a place of outstanding importance and retains many of its earlier traditions.

But with the development of modern civilization new types of communities have been built up which are sharply differentiated from the more simple village community of the past. During the past 100 years the process of urbanization has been going on so rapidly that an increasing proportion of the people is being crowded into large commercial and industrial centers. This concentration of the people into cities greatly complicates the problem of the community. From one point of view this urbanization brings about an undesirable situation which should be counteracted by a redistribution of industry throughout the more sparsely settled districts. Others point to these urban centers as a logical development from the more simple community life of an agricultural era and insist that this vast change in methods of living carries with it great possibilities of increase in efficiency

[9] Adams, "Village Communities of Cape Ann and Salem," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, Vol. I, No. 9.

and in more satisfactory living conditions for all the people. The present situation, as well as current economic tendencies which appear to be irresistible, seems to indicate the necessity of enlarging the traditional conception of the community to include congested urban areas with their complex problems and highly diversified interests. The basic consideration in determining whether an aggregation of people is a community or not need not be size but rather community of interests. Growth in size, as a matter of fact, seems to be one of the goals of the average small community. The village wishes to become a town, the town a city, and the city a metropolitan center, and each in turn eagerly scans the census returns and boasts of any increase in population. In this process of growth the community does not necessarily pass out of existence, but merely takes on new forms and extends its range of activities. The mass of the people of a city are usually but dimly conscious of their community of interests, and may be carrying on their community activities in a highly impersonal way. This, however, should be regarded as the problem of the city community and not as an argument against its recognition as a community. Large urban centers must be accepted as an inevitable accompaniment of modern civilization and their development has brought into the foreground a new social unit of increasing importance.

Classification of Communities.—Every community possesses outstanding characteristics growing out of its local situation and economic and other interests which determine its general nature and serve as a rough means of classification. For example, there are industrial communities such as the mill villages so common in certain sections of the South; political communities where the interests of the people revolve around governmental activities, as in county seats and state capitals; educational communities built up around a college or university; commercial communities in which trade is the dominant interest of the people; agricultural communities that depend on the farm for their chief means of sup-

port; and village communities which serve as trading centers for the surrounding country.

Following this method communities may be classified into a considerable variety of types in accordance with the point of view and purpose of the observer. In Sims, *The Rural Community,* the types suggested are the ethnic, immigrant, rurban, idealistic, religious, school, and exceptional communities. Gillette proposes two main types of rural communities, the nomadic or peripatetic and the stationary, the latter being further subdivided into crop response, ethnic, open country, farm village, rurban, cultural, and single interest communities. This classification, he is careful to point out, is by no means exhaustive, and the different types tend to overlap one another.[10] Still another classification is that given by Lindeman which includes urban, suburban, industrial cities or towns, agricultural cities or towns, educational towns or villages, villages, and open country communities.[11]

It is readily apparent that these and similar classifications are incomplete and arbitrary and are in some cases based on differences that seem to be superficial or at least relatively unimportant. Perhaps the unsatisfactory nature of existing classifications is an inevitable result of the lack of agreement as to what constitutes a community. Our knowledge of the real nature of communities is as yet too limited to enable us to measure precisely the forces that differentiate one community from another. Further progress must be made in our analysis of community life before steps can be taken toward a better classification of communities based on fundamental differences.

While this classification of communities into types is important, it must be remembered that communities, like individuals, are capable of infinite variations. When our analysis of community life is sufficiently penetrating, it is the individuality rather than the typical nature of the community

[10] Gillette, *Rural Sociology,* p. 62.
[11] Lindeman, *The Community,* p. 40.

that stands out with the greatest prominence. Our goal, therefore, is not reached when a community is properly classified; it must include also an individual study of each community in order to gain an accurate knowledge of those facts that differentiate it from all other communities.

The Significance of the Community.—In primitive times the village community was a dominating force and the individual was compelled to conform to its demands. Under such a regime where the local community was a face-to-face group, community consciousness grew naturally out of common interests, participation in a common cause, and in struggles against outside forces. Such a community was a strong socializing influence, and in a very real sense the institutions and culture of the people were a product of their community life.

At the present time communities of this kind still exist in a modified form, but to a large degree they are being supplanted by the growth of complex urban centers. The nature of modern industry has brought together large aggregations of people who are characterized by mobility rather than by permanency of residence in one locality. The growth of modern means of transportation and communication has given a breadth of outlook that makes it impossible for vital interests to be limited by strict geographical lines. Those who do not wish to conform to community demands can readily seek a new environment. Under such circumstances primary groups no longer need coincide with definite localities, and in fact are usually formed through a selective process based on congeniality, likemindedness, and common interests.

Along with this enlargement and growing complexity of communities there has gone a centralizing tendency which has also adversely affected the traditional rôle of the local community. In the political and economic development of our country it has been found necessary to transfer powers from local to national control. Efficiency has seemed to demand a certain amount of centralization of authority in all phases of our institutional life. Whether it is the school,

or the church, or agencies interested in social reform, the secret of power has been found in the promotion of national organizations to work out policies and give general direction to the movement. Even in the remote past the community early found it necessary to subordinate some of its rights in the interests of a larger whole. This inevitable process has gone on even in the most liberal democracy, with the result that the modern community has relinquished much of its control over its various functions. Its institutions gain prestige and importance not merely because of local acceptance, but because of their close integration with the wider movement which they represent. The community no longer stands alone as a self-sufficient unit. In many ways it acknowledges its dependence upon outside forces which set the pace for the community and help determine its standards. All this tends to destroy the old provinciality and narrowness of the traditional community life. Its arbitrary power over its members is rapidly decreasing, but its importance as a social unit is by no means lost. Because of the wider reach of community interests, life in a modern community should be more satisfying than it has ever been in the past.

Nevertheless this centralizing tendency must not be carried so far that it destroys the right of the community to help mold its own affairs. Democracy which has at times been tempted by the allurements of centralized control is coming to a better appreciation of the advantages of a program that finds its origin in the people themselves. The struggle with the liquor problem seems to offer a convincing demonstration that local option was more effective than federal amendment. The local community must after all be regarded as a social unit that cannot be ignored. Recognition of this fact is giving new significance to community work. To a greater extent than ever before all our resources of education, religion, and government are being concentrated upon the community in an effort to build a secure foundation for future progress.

Organizations of the Community.—The complex nature of a community appears as soon as it is viewed from the point of view of its organizations. The outstanding fact of any community is the great variety of the group relationships of its people. For certain general purposes and more especially under the stress of unusual circumstances, all within the community may feel themselves bound together by similar interests. But ordinarily the dominating fact in their lives is their membership in organizations and agencies which demand their loyalty and determine the extent and nature of their social contacts.

The fundamental institutions of any community are the family, school, church, industry, and government. The long experience of the human race has demonstrated the suitability of these institutions to provide the satisfaction of man's major needs. In the course of their history these institutions have been modified in various ways, but their essential nature has remained unchanged.

In additions to these institutions which have won for themselves permanent place and function, there are almost innumerable agencies and organizations that cover the entire range of man's activities and interests. This tendency to organize, which is nothing new in the world, has found unusually favorable soil for development during the past 50 years. Freedom of thought and action has made it possible for congenial groups to band themselves together in order to further their own interests. Every advance in education with its open doors of opportunity for the masses of the people has widened the horizons of desire and made inevitable a discontent and unrest that expresses itself in organized efforts to realize dreams that were formerly thought to be unattainable.

Since organizations usually arise out of very definite and limited needs, they tend to multiply until the whole range of human interests is adequately covered. In communities where the population is dense and proper support available,

this wide variety of agencies of every description is a distinct advantage, for it provides satisfying group relationships for all sorts of people. The small community, however, faces a distinct handicap when it attempts to meet the needs of its people in a similar manner. Where the people are few in number, economic necessity and lack of sufficient leadership make impracticable the support of many organizations. In such situations the hope of possessing strong organizations depends largely upon the people's willingness to bury individual differences and unite in the support of common projects. The diversity of interests and the universal desire to enjoy congenial associations usually interfere with this solution of the problem, whether the community is large or small. The typical community includes a network of organizations whose membership seems constantly to increase and make more difficult the attainment of community solidarity.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Point out the various meanings given to the term "community".
2. Describe Galpin's method of defining the boundaries of a rural community. How would you go about locating communities within a city?
3. What are the characteristic features that are common to all types of communities?
4. Have the social settlements been engaged in community or neighborhood work?
5. Discuss Kolb's conclusions concerning the significance of rural primary groups.
6. What is a complex community? Describe an actual community of this type.
7. What are some of the practical difficulties that stand in the way of the development of "rurban" communities?
8. Collect and discuss critically the various classifications of communities that have been made.

9. Is it correct to say that the modern local community is losing much of its earlier significance?

10. To what extent can community boundaries be reconstructed in order to fit in with modern conditions?

11. What methods may be employed in scoring communities?

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CHAPTER III.

COMMUNITY DISORGANIZATION.

The Meaning of Community Disorganization.—The great emphasis on community organization in recent years seems to imply a widely prevalent state of community disorganization which it is desired to remedy. According to the generally accepted point of view, many of the failures and shortcomings of community life are traceable to causes inherent in social disorganization. The corrective for this situation, it is assumed, must be found in a more adequate organization of communities. If this is true it becomes of great importance to understand clearly the conditions to be remedied. The superficial nature of some of the programs of community organization would seem to suggest that there has been an underestimation of the community problem which has led to an unwarranted belief in the efficacy of organization as a cure for the evils of disorganization. Possibly a more thorough study of the whole situation may show that the disorganization with which we are concerned is such an integral part of our modern social fabric, that it cannot be easily remedied by administrative devices or schemes of organization no matter how carefully worked out. At any rate, the student of community organization can very well afford to turn his attention more specifically to an analysis of the problem of disorganization which he has set out to overcome.

Social disorganization has been defined as "a decrease of the influence of existing social rules of behavior upon individual members of the group."[1] In accordance with this point of view a community may be said to be disorganized

[1] Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, Vol. IV, p. 2.

when there is any serious breakdown in its customary modes of control. This decline in authority is almost inevitably associated with a large amount of individual demoralization. Institutions become ingrown and self-centered and lack the power to deal vigorously with community problems. Instead of a vital interest in matters of public concern, there is an exaggerated attention to petty affairs of private life. The best interests of the community are lost sight of in the midst of the struggle between contending factions. Intense rivalries and personal jealousies play such an important part in the community that united action becomes difficult. In short, community disorganization implies a state of inadequacy and disunity that gives free play to the forces of deterioration in community life.

Disorganization a Protest Against Traditionalism.—The organized community, however, must not be thought of as one in which control is absolute. Such rigidity of custom might result in superficial orderliness, but certainly would tend to make life static and unprogressive. In fact, a certain amount of community disorganization is necessary for progress. Traditions and customs that are outworn or are not in full accord with changed conditions should be broken down. In any normal community there must constantly be going on a struggle between the forces of disorganization and reorganization. An important problem is to determine the extent to which a community may permit deviations from its established rules without giving full rein to the forces of disintegration.

In this connection Cooley's contrast between formalism and disorganization is very helpful.[2] The former he describes as mechanism supreme, while the latter is thought of as mechanism gone to pieces. They do not, as might first appear, represent opposite extremes. To think of formalism as order and disorganization as disorder is inadequate and misleading. A formal mechanistic community may outwardly

[2] Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 342 ff.

appear wholesome and secure, but its very rigidity breeds the disintegrating forces that sooner or later must find outward expression. All through community institutions is found this tendency to emphasize a mechanical, formal view of life which lays its heavy hand upon attempts to put new vitality into these institutions. In other words, the emphasis is placed on the mechanism developed in the past rather than upon its need of adaptation to a changing social order.

Any breakdown of this mechanistic view of life represents from the point of view of the traditionalist a disorganization that is full of danger. And it is true that one of the first results of such a breakdown is lack of unity. People seem to be working at cross purposes. The old discipline is lacking and for the time being there is nothing adequate to take its place. But disorganization of this kind is a necessary step toward a more wholesome social situation. The real vitality of a community depends not so much upon its success in securing obedience to its rules of conduct as on its ability to pass these rules in review when they seem inconsistent or out of touch with changed conditions.

Community Disorganization and Individual Demoralization.—As has already been suggested the disorganized community is likely to be characterized by an undue amount of personal demoralization. A breakdown in authority gives an opportunity for free expression of anti-social proclivities. The exceptional person may observe standards of behavior with a minimum dependence upon environmental influence but the rank and file are usually held in line by social pressure. When community institutions become weakened and confused, a situation is created that seems favorable to the prevalence of low standards of individual conduct.

In large cities it has frequently been pointed out that vice and crime have a strong affinity for areas of disorganization. When vice is driven out of its old established quarters, it seeks a new foothold in those sections of the city where conditions are unfavorable for social control. This same affin-

ity between disorganization and demoralization is also observable in small cities and rural communities. Frontier cities in our western states became hotbeds of disorderly conduct where life and property were not secure, and this condition prevailed until the institutions of the community were sufficiently organized to gain control over the situation. A recent survey of rural churches in certain counties in southeastern Ohio revealed a striking correlation between the breakdown of the religious institutions and the demoralization of the people.

"In this region where there is so high a percentage of illiteracy, and of deaths from preventable disease, the people are more nearly pure Americans than in the rest of the State. They compare unfavorably with the people of counties where a large proportion are foreigners. . . .

"Here gross superstition exercises strong control over the thought and action of a large proportion of the people. Syphilitic and other venereal diseases are common and increasing over whole counties, while in some communities nearly every family is afflicted with inherited or infectious disease. Many cases of incest are known, inbreeding is rife. Imbeciles, feeble minded, and delinquents are numerous, politics is corrupt, the selling of votes is common, petty crimes abound, the schools have been badly managed and poorly attended. Cases of rape, assault, and robbery are of almost weekly occurrence within five minutes' walk of the corporation limits of one of the county seats, while in another county political control is held by a self-confessed criminal. Alcoholic intemperance is excessive. Gross immorality and its evil results are by no means confined to the hill districts, but are extreme also in the towns."[3]

Of special significance is the fact that the disorganization of the churches was typical of the conditions prevailing in the schools, local government, and other community institutions and agencies. Similar studies in other places furnish additional evidence that disorganized communities form a congenial haven for the disorderly elements of the population. On the other hand it must be kept in mind that a community made up of people of low moral and intellectual standards cannot produce institutions of a high level of efficiency. Both aspects of the problem are so closely inter-

[3] Gill and Pinchot, *Six Thousand Country Churches*, pp. 15-16.

related that their precise causal relation does not always seem clear.

Mobility and Disorganization.—During the past 50 years vast changes have occurred in the rate of mobility especially in industrial centers. The rapid increase of population and improvements in transportation and communication have facilitated the movement of people from locality to locality in an unprecedented manner. People may now go long distances to their work, week-ends and evenings may be spent in amusements far from home, and there is a constant shifting of the working population as is seen in the statistics of labor turnover. Home ownership for many people has become impracticable, for ready mobility in certain lines of work is essential for success. In all except perhaps the more isolated communities, a large amount of coming and going has become so common that it is regarded as a matter of course.

This great increase in mobility has far-reaching social significance. The moving about of the people whether from one city to another or to different neighborhoods in the same city vastly increases the number of social contacts and makes possible a greater number of stimulations, thus creating a condition favorable to social change. It means also a break-up of traditional relationships, and the consequent weakening of the forces of community control. Studies of city life have revealed a striking correlation between excessive mobility and disorganization. The areas of greatest mobility usually coincide with the areas where disintegrating influences are most clearly evident. It becomes, therefore, of great importance to determine the kind and rate of mobility that makes for progress rather than for disorganization. Certain forms of mobility are undoubtedly normal. The freedom and ability to move from place to place represent a distinct achievement of modern civilization. But the constant shifting of farm tenants from farm to farm, the moving of laborers from mill-village to mill-village, the restless search on the part of thousands for a better chance in the struggle of life are indi-

cative of a discontent that grows out of pathological conditions. A high rate of mobility of this kind is destructive of community efficiency and makes disorganization inevitable.

Multiplicity of Organizations.—The ever-growing multiplicity of organizations stands out as a striking characteristic of modern community life. The primitive community, hedged in by custom and tradition, offered little encouragement to the development of organizations. Uniformity was the desired goal, and short shift was made of those who would not fit into the prescribed mold. Today the situation is entirely changed. Diversity is now found where formerly there was more general agreement. The modern spirit of tolerance that has made possible a more open expression of desires and opinions, and the growth of group consciousness with its appreciation of the power of united action have given a great impetus to the tendency to organize. From one point of view the increasing multitude of organizations represents simply a wider use of an approved device for mobilizing the people for effective action; but even more fundamentally it is indicative of a widely prevalent spirit of discontent and unrest. Those who share a common feeling that something is wrong with the the world band themselves together to improve conditions. Even the less serious organizations, the social clubs and societies of a more popular nature, find their continued vogue in the restless search for the satisfactions that come through congenial association. Groups of this kind may seem to emphasize some definite results to be attained, but their real justification for existence lies in the enrichment of the lives of their members. They make life more endurable by defining the social status of individuals, and by helping to preserve social distances. In a very real sense they become a device for selective association on the basis of congeniality and like-mindedness, and thus facilitate the coexistence in the same community of individuals unlike in temperament, ability, education, and other fundamental qualities.

As a result of this tendency to organize, communities are

made up of a network of organizations that not only cover practically all the interests of life, but represent many different methods of attaining these interests. Such a multiplicity of diverse organizations makes inevitable conflicts between different groups. Group loyalties frequently tend to split the community into hostile factions that lose sight of the more fundamental issues. Unity of action becomes difficult, for it can be secured only through the subordination of the interests of the various groups to the welfare of the whole community. Under such circumstances organizations can not be appraised merely from the point of view of their value in getting things done; attention must also be given to their tendency to become disrupting and disorganizing forces in community life.

The Significance of Cliques and Factions.—In general, factional and discordant groups are likely to be found in communities where there are wide differences as in religion, race, and economic status. Heterogeneity of population in a community leads frequently to sharp divisions characterized by misunderstandings, unjust accusations, and unfair tactics in gaining desired ends. In such communities where factional life grows out of deep-seated diversities that do not lend themselves readily to harmonious adjustment, the problem of disorganization appears in its most serious form.

But cliques and factions are by no means limited to heterogeneous communities. Comparatively homogeneous communities also, which to superficial observation seem to possess solidarity, may beneath the surface be torn by strong rivalries and personal jealousies. Feuds, it is well known, find congenial soil in small isolated communities and tend to persist for years long after the original source of trouble is almost forgotten. Almost equally serious are the cliques that grow out of personal rivalries and the struggle for social status.

In a western town there are two factions headed by brothers of the same family. These brothers are not only leaders of

their factions, but they are competitors in banking, the one at the head of a state bank, the other interested in a national bank in the same town. They do not speak to each other and evidently have entirely different ideals as one is progressive while the other is conservative and provincial. As most of the people in the town are connected in business with one group or the other, no one dares to have an opinion or take any steps that will not coincide with his faction, nor does he dare to do anything that will in any way affect adversely the bank with which he deals, or the political interests it represents.

The leader of one of the factions is recognized as one of the biggest men in the town. He is a good business man, and is well liked personally, but this is probably because he always takes a neutral attitude, that is, doing nothing that will antagonize the other side. Were he not linked with a particular faction in business, he would probably not be included as a strong man on either side, but his business identifies him at once. And between his attempts to keep the business for his bank and do nothing that will antagonize the other and still retain his own politics, his leadership in constructive work for his town is of very little value. The ministers also are lined up with the factions, and one of the strongest is among the active supporters of one side.

In the situation just described the problem was the reorganization of a social agency, which involved the election of a new board of directors and the adoption of a program. Neither proved to be possible, although the effort continued over a period of two years. Whenever a name was suggested as a member of the board, it was necessary to discuss the possibility of his working with the rest. In the opinion of the worker reporting this situation, the two factions that have grown out of a family rivalry have become such a dominating force that the building up of the social agency desired by many people of the community is entirely impracticable.

Several years ago in a small southern town of seven or

eight hundred people, a sharp difference of opinion arose at a meeting of the Woman's Club. Bitter feeling and violent antagonism ensued which eventually resulted in half of the members organizing a rival club. This division in the community soon became so pronounced that it seriously affected the work of the schools, the churches, and the local government. The men took up the quarrel of their wives, and split also into two factions. The churches are torn by this factional spirit and find it impossible to coöperate. The spirit of rivalry led to the building of two expensive club houses which has involved each faction deeply in debt. Many of the people admit that this division in the community is ruining their town, but neither side is willing to take a step toward reconciliation. Under such conditions ministers and teachers find their work almost impossible, and leave the community at the earliest opportunity.

While some of the features of these community situations are somewhat unusual, they may still be regarded as fairly typical of the undercurrent of factional life that is all too widely prevalent. Frequently these cliques and factions are regarded as a matter of course by the people concerned and their significance as a factor in disorganization is not fully realized. Their most sinister work is often done under cover and consequently it is by no means easy to place responsibility. But it is a mistake to under-estimate their importance or to fail to grasp their many ramifications throughout the community.

Disorganization in the Field of Social Work.—"I am disclosing no secret and uttering no heresy when I say to you that, except in a few communities, the social work armies all over this great land are organized in guerrilla bands only. In the main they closely resemble noisy rabbles led by a few ennobled Pancho Villas, conducting badly organized and poorly executed raids against the solid phalanxes of poverty, inefficiency, ignorance, disease, crime, and injustice. If this disorganization is to continue, the social worker's answer to the nation's cry is already written. 'We cannot serve you in the big affairs of the

day. All that we can do is to continue coaxing, coddling, and punishing the poor, the unfortunate, and the erring children of your family.' ''[4]

This striking criticism of disorganization in the field of social work by a prominent social work leader seems entirely justifiable in view of the existing situation. In fact, the community organization movement, as is well known, has largely grown out of the strongly felt need of bringing order out of the confusion of ill-coördinated social work enterprises. During the past few decades there has been organized a rapidly growing number of specialized social agencies, each chiefly concerned with its own program. Where there is this multiplicity of agencies, conflicts of interests are almost sure to arise. Careful definition of the different fields of work may be attempted, but this cannot always be successfully done when dealing with highly complex social problems. A family case work agency may find its center of attack upon the relief problems of a family, but this leads out at once into the fields of housing, health, sanitation, nutrition, child care, and juvenile deliquency. Similarly when a better housing league undertakes to map out its program of work, it will find its interests drawn into such fields as sanitation, health, city planning, standards of living, immigration, and race segregation. Any specialized agency that outlines a definite policy will not be able to put it into effect unless agencies that share portions of its interests will work out their programs in harmony with this policy. Since there is an interlocking set of causes of social problems, a harmonious adjustment of the policies of closely related social work organizations becomes exceedingly difficult.

Another factor contributing to their disorganization is the lack of understanding of the programs of the different agencies. Thorough familiarity with the real purposes of each organization would frequently clear the atmosphere,

[4] Norton, "Community Organization," *National Conference Social Work*, 1919, p. 666.

but this presupposes a closer relationship than usually exists. The large number of agencies, their frequent change of executives and policies, jealous pride in one's own agency and lack of interest in others, all combine to throw a haziness about each other's aims and purposes. And zeal in promoting one's own organization often causes leaders to feel that they have preëmpted the rights of a certain field just because they desire to enter it. They become so sensitive that they feel hurt not only when some one tramps on their toes, but also when some one treads where they would like their toes to be. The resulting vagueness in boundary lines between the activities of organizations often leads people to imagine that their interests conflict, and to ascribe to this apparent conflict an importance that is not warranted.

But on the other hand, this conflict of interest is not only in some cases very real, but it is deliberately furthered by aggressive organizations that desire to spread their influence and establish themselves securely in the community. This sometimes happens, especially with old agencies, that seek to rejuvenate themselves by adopting a new program that would appeal to a wider constituency. Such an attempt to enlarge their activities is frequently a sign of decay, and represents a final effort to bring in new life. Against ill-advised and overlapping efforts of well-meaning agencies, communities must continually be on guard.

The following description of a social service situation in a small western town is an illustration both of a duplication of effort on the part of two agencies, and also of the disorganization that arises through the prevalence of low standards of work. In general the situation here depicted must be regarded as fairly typical of hundreds of small towns in many sections of the country.

Perhaps the most outstanding example of disorganization in the field of social service in this community was the fight between the local chapter of the Red Cross and the Associated Charities. These agencies have been backed by

antagonistic groups of the old families. During the war there was work enough for both, and all went smoothly, but with the coming of peace and the necessity of working out a correlated peace time program, trouble began.

Each of the organizations had during the war employed a public health nurse which had proved to be the spectacular feature of their program. It was felt best to place the nursing work under one agency, but each feeling that this made the strongest appeal for financial support, was unwilling to give up this phase of its work.

An attempt was then made to have all of the social work in the county turned over to a county superintendent of public welfare. This seemed for a time to be a feasible solution. There was some opposition by certain individuals interested in school attendance and probation work. These difficulties, however, could perhaps have been ironed out had it not been for the fact that the secretary of the Associated Charities was mentioned by the county court as a possible candidate for the position of county superintendent. This individual was not qualified for the position, and this, in addition to the opposition by the supporters of the Red Cross, made it impossible for the proposed program to succeed. Later the Red Cross withdrew from the field and when the Associated Charities put on its drive for funds, less than half of its budget was raised.

While this was the only open antagonism in the field of social service it is not sufficient to give a complete picture of the state of disorganization. Most of the social work of the community was divided up among a number of individuals employed on a part-time basis. The secretary of the Associated Charities was an old man who supervised the distribution of relief for a salary of 600 dollars a year. A school attendance officer was employed by the school board for 450 dollars. The probation officer for the court was the sheriff, who for this additional work received 300 dollars. A part-time county physician was employed. Each of the churches had assist-

ants to the pastor to whom were assigned the duty of doing social work among the members of their congregation. Certain fraternal orders prepared baskets for the poor at Christmas.

These projects were all more or less isolated from one another. Perhaps there was not one of the individuals engaged in this field of work who was fully aware of what was being undertaken by the others. In the main, the various efforts were carried on quite independently with no real attempt at coöperation or correlation.

The situation in communities of larger size seems usually more promising because of the prevalence of higher standards of social work, but the individualism of the social agencies is very similar to that described above. In a recently published study of the work of national agencies in local communities many facts were brought out which illustrate clearly the state of disorganization that exists among social agencies in representative cities, both large and small, in different sections of the country.[5] In one city of large size there were found 32 child-caring institutions, each of which looked after its own child-placing although three agencies specializing in child-placement were at work in the same city. The situation was made much worse by the fact that these children's institutions had not for the most part adopted modern methods of child-placing. In the field of recreation it was discovered that there was a great deal of overlapping in several of the larger cities, because the different recreational agencies were making their separate appeals largely to the same groups of boys and girls. Among public health nurses the duplication of effort was especially noticeable. In two cities there were nine different sets of nurses from various agencies visiting in family homes. The experience of councils of social agencies and welfare federations during the past decade presents convincing proof not merely of the

[5] *Report of a Study of the Interrelation of the Work of National Social Agencies in Fourteen American Communities*, National Information Bureau, N. Y., 1923.

chaotic situation in the field of social work, but also of the difficulties involved in any attempt to bring about more thorough-going coöperation.

The Disorganizing Influence of Sectarianism.—American colonization proceeded largely through the development of religious communities, as for example, those formed by the Puritans, Quakers, Dunkards, Mennonites, and Moravians. The desire to worship according to the dictates of their own conscienee brought together into the same communities those of like faith. Outsiders might to a certain extent be tolerated but it was believed that the chief satisfactions of life were to be secured through association of those possessing similar religious beliefs. One of the last important efforts in this country to build up sectarian communities was the establishment of the Mormon Church in Utah. Since then we have developed some distinctive religious faiths, as for instance, Christian Science, but these usually take the form of dispersed sects with no settled policy of establishing separate communities.

As long as the community was built around a church to which the majority of the people belonged, religion was a strong unifying force. But the trend in religious development has been away from the church parish as a distinct geographical unit. The desire for religious freedom has expressed itself in the typical American community in the establishment of as many different kinds of churches as can find local support. Under such a regime the church has tended to become a divisive factor in community life. In spite of the decline of interest in theological controversy and the growth of a spirit of religious toleration, there are many communities that have been split into hostile factions because of intense rivalries between organized religious groups. This is especially true in those communities where such widely different groups as Catholics, Protestants, and Jews clash in their struggle for local political power or for control of the public schools.

In certain sections of the country and more especially in small towns and rural neighborhoods, rivalries even between Protestant denominations sometimes are so intense and deep-seated that coöperation becomes exceedingly difficult. The failure of sorely needed community enterprises must sometimes be laid at the door of religious differences that would ordinarily be regarded as of minor importance. The Red Cross during the war found some of its chapters unable to secure public support because the local organization had gotten under the control of a single religious group. In some places the church affiliation of teachers applying for positions in the public schools must be given careful consideration so as not to disturb the balance of power between rival Protestant denominations. Very often this hostility between different sects attracts less attention than the actual situation warrants, because a *modus operandi* has been developed which makes it possible for the ordinary affairs of the community to be carried along with the least possible open expression of factional bitterness. But beneath the surface this antagonism continues to exist and always must be reckoned with as a factor capable of disorganizing the entire community.

Another important aspect of disorganization in the field of religion is seen in the multiplicity of churches in the average community which results in inefficiency and in the decrease of their influence on the people. The overchurching of especially many of the smaller communities has long been notorious. Professor Sanderson describes as follows the religious situation in a typical county in New York:

"Throughout the county there was but one church for every 332 people, but the average village church had but 92 active members, and the average country church had but 32. The church membership has remained practically stationary for 30 years, while the attendance has decreased from 21% of the rural population in 1890 to 14% in 1920. One community of 900 population had five churches, no one of which had a resident pastor or over 45 members, while two of them had but 11 members each and were closed. Six strictly rural communities in the southern part of the county have 16 churches, though none of these

places can properly support more than one church with a resident pastor. After a careful study of the whole county, I am of the opinion that if at least one-third of the rural churches were abandoned or combined the work of the church would be greatly strengthened. This county is cited because it is fairly typical; many worse have been reported in other surveys.''[6]

Under such conditions it is not surprising that there is a general failure to coördinate denominational effort in community work. Religious divisions have been carried to the point of absurdity in many places, with inefficiency as the inevitable result. It is not too much to say that the religious side of community life in such a county as is cited above is in general so highly disorganized that community progress is seriously hampered. In localities where community organization has been carried forward aggressively, it has seldom gone to the point where the program includes a serious attempt to coördinate the work of the churches. Community councils have successfully dealt with the overlapping of social agencies, but public opinion does not yet demand that the rivalries of religious sects should be subordinated to the interests of the whole community. One church after another may be organized without any effort on the part of the community as a whole to determine whether this multiplication of churches is the best way to meet their religious needs. It seems to be felt that each separate religious organization has an inherent right to exploit the community for the sake of promoting denominational interests. The disorganizing influence of sectarianism is taken for granted, while great effort is made to deal with many less fundamental phases of community disorganization.

Economic Aspects of Community Disorganization.— While community progress is fundamentally bound up with its economic enterprises, the community organization movement has paid but slight attention to the economic aspects of community disorganization. A few social agencies, as for in-

[6] Sanderson, *The Farmer and His Community,* pp. 125-6.

stance the Consumer's League, have recognized the disorganizing influence of certain phases of industrial life and have tried to bring about suitable reforms. Chambers of Commerce and other similar agencies on the other hand are primarily promotive in nature, and build their program around the development of the economic interests of the community. Community councils, while supposedly representative of all community agencies and institutions, include business interests not for the purpose of coördinating them, but in order to interest business men in correlating and supporting other phases of the community program. In general the community's efforts to regulate industry are largely limited to such matters as the approval of the location of industrial property, the defining of terms under which a franchise may be granted, and the granting of licenses for the conduct of a business. In spite of the fact that the prevailing methods of business and industry have been worked out with but slight reference to the welfare of the general public, the community has felt so keenly its dependence upon the successful promotion of local economic undertakings that it has refrained as far as possible from hampering their development. The theory is that since industry and business are organized on a competitive basis, the door of opportunity should be open to all who can find support for a legitimate enterprise.

It is assumed, for example, that this individualistic method of building up the mercantile establishments of a community will in the long run work out satisfactorily, for competition will prevent undue duplication of business effort. A study of communities, however, reveals that this assumption is not entirely true, for it seldom goes much farther than the elimination of the most unfit. Competition, it is true, keeps business within certain limits, but we have no assurance that limits so determined are in accord with the best interests of the consuming public. The community is not primarily interested in supporting many competing stores, but

rather in having adequate sources of supply that would insure the lowest possible prices, and the widest possible choice of goods. To the extent that a multiplicity of business establishments results in the exploitation of the community for the personal gain of those competing in the field of business, it becomes a matter of as much public concern as is the overchurching of the community or the building up of many ill-coördinated social agencies.

Similarly, manufacturing enterprises which are looked upon as an asset to a community may be in some instances a disorganizing influence. The size of their payroll and the amount of their business are not the only factors to be considered when measuring their value to the community. The kind of employees they attract to the community, the standard of living that is made possible by their wage scale, their working conditions and hours of labor are also of the highest importance. The industrial concern that brings to the community employees of an undesirable type who frequently get into trouble in the courts; that increases the burden of public charity through the payment of low wages or irregular employment or failure to safeguard the health of its workers; or that shirks its responsibility in matters of public interest is likely to be more of a liability than an asset to the community in which it is located. Any attempt to estimate the forces that make for community disorganization is very superficial if it does not give due consideration to the disorganizing influence of business and industrial enterprises that are either inadequately coördinated or are operated in such a way that they lower the standards of community life.

Disorganization in a Typical Small City.—The small city with a population of several thousand people may usually be regarded as in a state of transition from primary group characteristics to the more impersonal relationships of a congested urban center. It therefore presents many contradictions in the manner of life and attitudes of the people which find expression at times in a self-satisfied complacency

that retards all progress and again in a mad rush to ape the manners of a big city regardless of the consequences that may follow. Because of these conflicting tendencies it is not surprising that the small city, such as the typical county seat or the small industrial center, is frequently so highly disorganized that a constructive community program finds with great difficulty adequate support. The following excerpts from a description of a middle western county seat of 4,000 inhabitants gives a picture of conditions that may be regarded as fairly representative of cities of its size.

The city is full of cliques, people who consider themselves on different social levels from others. There is the "elite" or "five hundred" who consider themselves to be the socially important people. They set the pace and attract most notice. A much larger group is made up of what may be called the common people. These are the substantial citizens who support the churches and schools and the various social and civic agencies. Another element comprises the "East Enders," —a term of reproach for the poorer classes who live in a neglected portion of the city. The negroes, who form one-sixth of the population, are an entirely separate class, segregated in two sections of the city, with their own schools and churches. The Mexicans are perhaps the most neglected group. They live in the railway box car camp and come down town when necessary to buy supplies. They understand little English and no effort is made to teach them or to give them opportunity to participate in the institutions of the community. A small group of Swedes who work in a shoe factory have the reputation of being the most disorderly element. Their chief diversion seems to be the drinking of bootleg liquor, under the influence of which they create much disturbance and then fall into the clutches of the law.

The agencies and institutions are those usually found in a city of this size. The thirteen religious denominations comprise the Baptist, German Baptist, Christian, Dunkard, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Episcopal, Wesleyan Methodist,

Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, Reformed Presbyterian, Christian Science, African Methodist, and African Baptist. In the field of politics are found the Republicans, Democrats, Prohibitionists, Populists, Socialists, Progressives, and Independents. The business interests of the city are looked after by the Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants' and Farmers' Association. A long list of fraternal orders form an important part of the social life of the community. Rotary and similar civic clubs, women's organizations of various kinds, recreational clubs of the usual types, make their demands upon the time and energy of the people. The children also have their interests looked after by the Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, dancing classes, botany clubs, and Junior Chamber of Commerce. This large number of agencies and organizations seems to indicate a progressive city that is looking after the interests of its citizens. But it must be remembered that the comparatively small size of the city forces these organizations to become sharply competitive groups continually clamoring for public support. In fact many of them sprang out of personal jealousy or selfish desire for opportunity for leadership. In such a situation, ideals, however good, stand little chance of being adequately realized. It seems certain that there exists a state of over-organization which may be at least partly responsible for the city's difficulty in securing united action concerning much needed community projects.

For example, the water supply of the city had long been a problem. For years a pond on the edge of the city was used but with the growth of the city the supply became inadequate, and in dry seasons it was necessary to haul water by the train load from a neighboring city. Finally a plan was worked out to build a dam in a small creek a few miles from the city and pump the water into a properly constructed reservoir. This met great opposition, although the city water was hardly fit for use. Some objected on account of the cost, others knew it would not work, while still others were against it just be-

cause others favored it. The battle waged for years but finally the dam was put in. Then when later greater pressure was necessary to provide for the growing city, the same kind of a fight was staged before a larger reservoir could be built. The opposition was usually led by people who had sufficient money to stand the expense, but were still content to use the more primitive methods of providing a water supply. Another factor in the opposition was the large number of people who seemed determined to oppose anything that certain leaders sponsored.

Another instance of a similar nature arose in connection with the proposed municipalization of the electric light plant. Since the rates were high and the service unsatisfactory, the city held an election to vote bonds for the purchase of the electric light plant. The bonds were approved by popular vote, but the opposition successfully prevented their issuance by finding a technical flaw in the election. Since that time, although there was a strong demand for a new election, the opposing minority through clever manipulation and the exercise of powerful influence has been able to stop any further steps in this direction.

Another division arose in the city when it was proposed that municipal funds be appropriated to assist in the building of a gymnasium for the use of the people of the community. A wealthy man had left a bequest of a large sum of money for a gymnasium, but the funds were inadequate for the purpose. Since there was a popular demand for such a building, it was voted to issue bonds to cover the remainder of the amount needed. The opposing faction again found a flaw in the election and endeavored to stop all further efforts to put up the building. Finally the School Board assumed responsibility for the needed money and the gymnasium was erected. The building is now the pride of the community, and the only regret is that there was such a long delay in securing its advantages.

In regard to the relief of the poor it has not been possible

to secure any agreement as to what should be done. The county has an almshouse and many believe that the poor, no matter what their situation may be, should be sent to this institution. Some of the churches feel that they should dispense poor relief and carry on this work without any attempt to find out what other agencies may be doing for their families. The fraternal orders also deal with this problem in a similar way. The Merchants' and Farmers' Association have worked out a plan for helping the needy according to more modern methods but in this they do not receive the support of the majority of the people. As a result of this lack of understanding of the problem and the failure to coördinate the different plans of relief, duplication and inefficiency result. The city's burden of poverty is not great and it ought not to be difficult to handle, but the present methods of dispensing relief are so inadequate and diverse that very little good is being accomplished.

Another evidence of disorganization appears in a lynching that took place in the city six years ago. The victim had been duly tried and convicted of brutally killing a man and his wife for whom he had been working on their farm. The night following the trial, before there was opportunity to carry out the sentence, a group of men attacked the jail, overpowered the sheriff, and killed the prisoner by hanging. The community was greatly excited over this lawlessness and an investigation followed. Factions were formed and many ordinarily law-abiding citizens sided with the lynchers, so that it became impossible to secure evidence that would lead to conviction of the leaders of the mob. The victim was a white man of American birth, so there was no race prejudice involved. The city had long been known as a wholesome American community with due regard for law and order.

If the above description is fairly typical of cities of that size, it would seem that even small and fairly homogeneous communities face serious problems of disorganization. When one looks beneath the surface of such communities, they are

often found to be teeming with divisive factors. Personal jealousies stand in the way of the development and utilization of leadership. Competing groups, each too small for efficiency, tend to split up the community into factions that promote rivalry instead of coöperation. The strict insistence upon conformity to tradition does not necessarily mean the unusual prevalence of high standards of conduct. On the contrary, such a community usually has its share of marginal families whose tendencies toward shiftlessness, delinquency, and immorality bear witness to an alarming disregard of the best traditions. The experience of those interested in improving the standards of the public schools, in promoting coöperation among the churches, and in making industry serve the best interests of the people confirms the statement that disorganization is an outstanding problem of the small as well as of the large city.

Is Community Organization the Way Out?—From the foregoing it is apparent that community disorganization includes far more than the problem of ill-coördinated social agencies. In fact, the more serious aspects of disorganization are frequently found in connection with the economic, political, educational, and religious institutions of the community. Much, therefore, that is spoken of in popular usage as community organization deals with but a very limited phase of the whole problem. Social workers have been much concerned with the need of making social agencies more efficient and have developed plans of community organization to accomplish this purpose. But the impression should not be gained that, when a community has solved this problem, all the evils of disorganization have been exorcised. The community that seriously undertakes to organize effectively all its social forces has taken but one step when it has devised machinery for coördinating its social agencies. And perhaps even this step is hardly worth while if in the fields of politics, industry, and religion the forces of disorganization are constantly creating social problems with which social agencies are then expected

to deal. The community that cannot coördinate its churches ought not to take too seriously its overlapping social agencies. As long as we give a minimum of attention to the problem of regulating industry in the interests of community welfare, it is useless to expect a community council to accomplish the far-reaching results that its supporters frequently claim for it. If community organization is the way out, it must be sufficiently inclusive to deal with the fundamental forces that are making for disorganization.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. How does Thomas define social disorganization? Does his definition seem applicable to the disorganization of communities?
2. Discuss Cooley's contrast between formalism and disorganization.
3. In what sense may community disorganization be regarded as essential for progress?
4. Is there a causal relation between community disorganization and personal demoralization?
5. Describe an actual community situation where the forces of disorganization seem to predominate.
6. How would you go about measuring the mobility of the people of a community? Give illustrations showing the relation between mobility and disorganization.
7. Does multiplicity of organizations necessarily lead to disorganization? What practical steps, if any, may be taken to prevent over-organization of communities?
8. Give examples of community disorganization growing out of the existence of cliques and factions. What is their fundamental social significance?
9. Have we reason to believe that the disorganization characteristic of the religious field is becoming a matter of decreasing significance?
10. Is it worth while to give serious consideration to the

economic aspects of community disorganization in the formulation of a community program?

11. Why is a small city likely to have many problems of disorganization?

12. What kind of disorganization is frequently found in a small, homogeneous community?

13. To what extent may we expect the problem of community disorganization to be solved through the improvement of administrative devices?

14. Make a historical study of a community for the purpose of discovering the disorganizing factors that prevented normal progress.

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CHAPTER IV

COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY

The Problem Stated.—The preceding analysis of community disorganization sets forth some of the problems faced by a community that seeks to achieve unity and solidarity. Multiplicity of organizations that divide the people into sharply competing groups, cliques, and factions that spring out of deep-seated diversities, seemingly irreconcilable conflicts in the field of religion, social and economic classes so widely different that coöperation becomes impracticable, the disorganizing influence of excessive mobility, the transition from primary to secondary relationships with its resulting breakdown of traditional means of control, the personal demoralization that finds expression in anti-social conduct—these are among the many problems that must be solved before community solidarity can be fully realized. Community solidarity therefore must be thought of as a process constantly going on rather than as a goal that certain communities have successfully attained. Instead of plotting on a map the communities characterized by solidarity, we must content ourselves with efforts to measure and grade their progress toward this ideal.

But community solidarity is not to be considered merely as the process of overcoming the forces of disorganization. It has also its positive aspects which may be summed up in the attitudes of loyalty of its members to common interests that bind the people together. Such loyalty may express itself in pride in local achievements, in determination to improve community conditions, or in a willingness to coöperate for the common good. The building up of attitudes such as these is the problem of community solidarity. We are familiar with the con-

cept of family solidarity, the strong force that holds its members together, makes them interested in each other's welfare, and expresses itself in a feeling of affection that adds to the enrichment of life. To what extent can communities achieve a similar solidarity? What methods are to be employed in working toward this goal? Is community solidarity practicable only in small and homogeneous communities? What forces, if any, will bind together the larger and more impersonal communities that are becoming increasingly characteristic of modern life?

The Solidarity of Primitive Communities.—The primitive community was of necessity characterized by solidarity. Any tendency on the part of its members to be guided by individual desires rather than by the custom of the group called forth drastic action. Solidarity was essential for the preservation of life in the hard struggle for existence. It was, in fact, this conflict with outside groups and with the hostile forces of nature that bound the members of the community close together. In such a situation the community had immense importance for its members. It stood out as a social unit which must at all costs be preserved. Customs were identified with group welfare and hence were insisted upon in the most arbitrary manner. Outsiders who followed different customs were looked upon as dangerous and were denounced by insulting epithets. Since safety was found only in the community, its standards were accepted without question and its domination was not felt to be irksome.

When we recall also the lack of means of communication and transportation, it is clear that primitive community solidarity was simply the inevitable result of primitive conditions of life. As long as there was but little intercommunication of groups and consequent interchange of ideas, heterodox opinions and actions could find no suitable soil in which to develop. The first step toward a breakdown of community solidarity grew out of the development of better means of communication. Solidarity based on isolation could not with-

stand the opening of the doors into the wider world. From one point of view the decline of community solidarity may be regarded as an inevitable accompaniment of modern civilization. To return to the solidarity of primitive times would mean an acceptance of conditions of life that would now be regarded as intolerable. The solution of the present problem of community solidarity must not be worked out in terms of the past but in view of modern conditions that are rapidly increasing the number and importance of the more impersonal types of relationships.

Provincial Aspects of Community Solidarity.—Every community faces the task of maintaining and developing its own interests and activities. The town that is small in size may or may not aspire to become an important city, but if progressive it naturally looks forward to normal growth and plans to satisfy in increasing measure the legitimate wants of its people. Consequently it is of the highest importance that a community should be characterized by faith in its destiny and by loyal devotion to its various enterprises. This attitude is stimulated by its local newspapers, by its leaders in school and in church, by the business men and trade organizations, and by all who find their natural interests in the community. Without this pride in local institutions and this concerted effort to accomplish greater things, a community would deteriorate and fall far behind its more aggressive competitors.

Unfortunately, this very necessary spirit of loyalty that binds the people of the community together often grows out of a provincial outlook upon life that makes it a hindrance rather than a help to progress. Nothing is more common than a self-satisfied town which has built up an attitude of complacency because of its unwillingness and perhaps inability to pass correct judgment upon its institutions and achievements. Few places are now so isolated that their people lack opportunity to make note of the attainments of the outside world. Their failure to profit by the progressive ideas of

other places is much more likely to arise from an unreasoning pride that makes them blind to their own situation. Pride of locality, of climate, of natural resources, or of accomplishments in a certain line, coupled with an ignorance of the fundamental standards by which a community should be measured, develops local loyalty but at the same time closes the minds of the people to suggestions for improvement of local conditions. Homogeneous communities that have existed long enough to build up strongly entrenched traditions are likely to be characterized by a solidarity based upon sentimental attachments to the past and blind acceptance of their present situation. Where solidarity of this kind exists, progress is almost sure to be retarded.

Community solidarity of this provincial sort usually adopts as a protective device an attitude of hostility to outside criticism. The adoption of such an attitude serves a double purpose—the entrance of new ideas is prevented, and the resentment felt against unfavorable criticism becomes a binding force of unusual power. Every community, of course, has a right to safeguard its own heritage by resisting the constant encroachments of outside forces. Its customs and traditions are values that have been built up at great cost and should not be ruthlessly pushed aside by those unacquainted by the real spirit of the place. Nevertheless, this attitude of intolerance is a type of provincialism that hampers community development. From one point of view it is a confession of weakness, of unwillingness to compare institutions and achievements on the basis of their merit. Instead of seeking accurate knowledge of existing conditions, the people prefer to rely on their own biased judgments. The community may be backward but the people are determined not to admit it. In their efforts to maintain solidarity they place a premium on backwardness and sacrifice essential values without which solidarity itself becomes an illusion.

Community Versus Individual Interests.—In acquiring and maintaining the momentum necessary for satisfactory prog-

ress, the local community may seem to develop an attitude of domination over its members which tends to defeat its original purpose of contributing more adequately to their welfare. For example, public opinion in a community may call for active participation in its various enterprises regardless of the wishes of the individual members. Strong disapproval may be expressed of people who fail to patronize local places of business because they find that they can trade more satisfactorily elsewhere. An individual member of a small town may be regarded as disloyal if he sends his children to an outside school or passes by the local church on his way to public worship in another locality. The community, it is felt, must at all costs prevent the exodus of its young people from its borders on their way to more attractive opportunities in the wider world.

This apparent clash between individual and community interests is one of the perplexing problems that cannot be avoided. To what extent must the individual members of a community sacrifice their own interests for the sake of achieving social solidarity? As far as the small town is concerned, it is quite apparent that local institutions are seriously hampered unless they can secure united support. The village stores cannot be profitably run if used only for emergency buying. If local business enterprise is not encouraged, property values will decrease and the whole community will suffer. On the other hand, does residence in a small town or village carry with it the obligation to limit interests and activities to standards determined by local opportunities? Must the individual feel that he is breaking down the community when he ventures into an alliance with outside institutions?

One step toward the solution of this problem is taken when we realize the impossibility of holding a community responsible for the satisfaction of the needs of all its members. Man's life is made up of both local and wider interests. In those affairs that have local bearing he naturally turns to local channels of activity. Ordinarily this means that in the

schooling of his children, in his public worship, and in his daily routine of life his community largely satisfies his needs. But to circumscribe his needs to the limitations of his locality or to hold the local institutions responsible for the satisfaction of any unusual demands that may be made is unjust and impractical. The man who seeks more than local advantages for his children's education or who finds profit in religious associations beyond his immediate circle is not thereby disloyal to the place in which he resides unless his failure to participate in these local activities is accompanied also by entire disregard of their values to the community. The measuring rod by which to determine his loyalty is his attitude toward the community as a whole and the sum total of the various means he uses to make his influence effective in all his local relationships.

A community in its desire to forge ahead is likely to think of itself as an independent unit in sharp competition with others adjacent to it; whereas a truer view is that it is one of many similar units bound together by a network of interrelationships. Judged from this point of view, the community's goal is not attained by following a narrow policy of self-aggrandizement. There must not be merely the building up of local institutions but conscious effort to supplement local resources by fruitful outside contacts. Those who profit by outside relationships should be looked upon as persons whose wider and different points of view react upon the community to its advantage. Through such outside contacts provincialism disappears and the people become more open-minded in their attitude toward needed improvements. The town that is progressive will seek to satisfy in an increasing measure the varied demands of its citizens but will not try to circumscribe their freedom of thought or action.

Should we then look with complacency upon the widely prevalent tendency of young people to forsake the place of their birth and launch out into new fields? To the extent that their restlessness arises from the failure of communities

to attain their maximum efficiency, we must view with real concern this inability to retain their hold on their youth. Unfortunately it is only too obvious that very few localities make the best possible use of all their resources. An enlightened and progressive community offers attractions and opportunities far beyond those available in a place that is backward. As a result of more attention to problems of community development we have every reason to expect a more highly stabilized population. But this increasing stability of community life cannot be expected to reach the point where the majority of the most aggressive young people of especially the small town and rural localities will be content to remain at home. Every small community must be regarded as a training ground for wider fields. In the ready mobility of our community life we find both the secret of progress and the cause of stagnation. The individual members of a community must have absolute freedom to come or go as they choose, but this very freedom works hardship upon the consistent growth of local institutions.

The Interdependence of Communities.—As has already been suggested, the modern community should not be regarded as an independent social unit in sharp competition with those adjacent to it. Such an attitude was inevitable during an era of isolation when inadequate means of communication and transportation fostered a provincial outlook on life. The present situation, however, demands a change of emphasis. Interdependence has become a characteristic of modern group relationships. A network of common interests binds localities together. The element of competition still remains but it is no longer the predominant factor. Small towns that desire to keep pace with modern progress are finding it to their advantage to join forces with neighboring towns instead of perpetuating their old attitudes of hostility.

Unfortunately, community loyalties have usually been built more upon conflict than upon coöperation. Suggestions looking toward a franker recognition of common interests fre-

quently awaken but little response, since they run counter to provincial attitudes of loyalty that are strongly entrenched. Nevertheless, the rapid breaking down of the old barriers of isolation is proving destructive to provincialism. Already evidences are appearing that point to a more coöperative relationship between adjacent communities. The county plan of organization is a step in this direction, for it contemplates the sharing of services and responsibilities by all the communities within a county. In theory such a plan is sound, but where its administration has given undue domination to the countyseat, it has too often resulted in accentuating the feeling of rivalry and bitterness on the part of the other places in the county. But this partial failure of the county plan should not cause us to lose sight of the validity of its essential principle. Communities too small in size to provide specialized services adequate for their needs can to a considerable extent remove this difficulty by the employment of specialists on a coöperative basis.

"This is the riddle of small town progress: more types of need than the small town can care for itself. Surely in a town of two thousand population there are practically as many kinds of need as in a city of a million inhabitants. Less relative need exists, perhaps, for certain types of social service that neighborliness takes care of, but for constructive community advancement the needs of the small town are relatively as varied and as pressing as in the large city. The large city has varied resources to meet varied needs; the small town has not, and of itself alone it never can have, however enlightened and progressive its citizens may be. One answer to the riddle is this: the combination of resources over geographical areas wide enough to meet and care adequately for the different types of need that arise. Small towns can combine with each other, and with larger cities when these are nearby, and together thy must plan their work, and work their plan. The strength and resources of larger communities should be available to supplement the resources of smaller communities, never undermining local responsibility and initiative but supplementing them at such points as may be necessary.

"The Hampden County (Mass.) Improvement League is an outstanding effort to put these ideas into practice. This League, which grew out of the idea of city and country working together throughout the

entire county, developed a county wide program including such activities as agricultural demonstrations for better farming; the development of coöperative purchasing and marketing organizations; home economics work with the women of town and country and city; boys and girls club work in gardens, canning, live stock, poultry, bees, and home economics; community and county meetings, exhibits, and picnics; legislative activities, and a broad program of publicity and educational work through the newspapers and through the League's own monthly publication, *The Hampden.*

"Primarily economic in purpose and program, the Hampden County Improvement League is not a social work agency as ordinarily defined. In several respects, however, it illustrates forcibly principles that I wish to emphasize. The first is the combination of resources over a geographical area wide enough to provide with reasonable adequacy for the type of needs that the League is designed to meet. Few, if any, of the small towns in Hampden county could carry on for themselves all that is now going forward in this line of work within their borders. With the coöperation of Springfield and Holyoke, however, these things become possible, not because these two cities do them but because through the League they and the local leaders work together on constructive activities in which all are vitally interested. The second principle illustrated is that the real challenge of small town problems, even more clearly presented than in the large cities, is in the underlying, fundamental, constructive activities that make for better economic and social life. Community problems, rather than individual problems, are the big field for interest and attention in the small town, and interest in these lines once aroused and backed by adequate resources is more quickly rewarded by definite results in the smaller communities than in the larger and more complex cities."[1]

The few apparently successful experiments similar to the one outlined above seem to point toward a method of solving the problems of the small community that deserves serious attention. Rationally considered, such a coöperative undertaking participated in by several communities appears sound and in accord with common sense. But we cannot be too hopeful of a wide extension of this plan as long as intercommunity rivalry occupies such a prominent place in the minds of the people. In the effort to stimulate local pride the adjacent community is likely to be caricatured and belittled until atti-

[1] Adapted from Edlund, "Community Solidarity," National Conference Social Work, 1922, pp. 336-38.

tudes of unfriendliness and illwill cause suggestions of cooperation to become futile. The small town and the large city, for example, could mutually profit by closer relations, but the latter is inclined to assume a paternalistic, dictatorial attitude, while the former tries to compensate for its feelings of inferiority by unduly magnifying its own advantages or by berating the city for its wickedness and other shortcomings. A significant step toward overcoming this prejudice has come about through the recognition on the part of some of the larger cities of their economic dependence on the goodwill and prosperity of their adjacent territory. Since their business interests seem to be at stake, cities through their chambers of commerce are beginning to make more intelligent efforts to render needed services to localities to which they must look for a large portion of their trade. While these services are usually of an economic nature, it is becoming more apparent that attention must be paid also to problems of education, public health, and social welfare. As soon as the idea is more generally accepted that the city's prosperity and general welfare of its citizens are intimately bound up with the social and economic conditions of all its surrounding territory, some of the unfortunate aspects of intercommunity rivalry will tend to disappear. But in any event the change from an attitude of local provincialism to a recognition of a wider inter-relationship of interests will likely come about with exceeding slowness.

The Achievement of Community Solidarity.—The attainment of community solidarity will be discussed under the following heads: A. Conflict and Rivalry, B. Coöperation, and C. Organization.

A. Conflict and Rivalry. It has already been pointed out that the solidarity of communities characteristic of primitive conditions has largely been an outgrowth of provincial loyalties, intercommunity rivalries, and discipline of recalcitrant individuals. To a large extent the solidarity of small towns and rural districts of the present day has been built up in

a similar manner. Loyalty is secured by thinking of adjacent places as serious rivals whose attainments and advantages must be minimized and by keeping in the foreground of attention the superior claims of the home community. All sorts of devices are utilized for stimulating the proper degree of local pride and loyalty. Booster organizations may decorate the highways with placards which recount the industrial opportunities, educational facilities, the superior location and climate, and similar attractive features. If the locality is obviously lacking in real attainments, dissatisfaction and criticism may be avoided by pointing out the shortcomings of neighboring communities. Individuals who are inclined to be critical rather than blindly loyal may be coerced into line by ridicule and derision or by appeals to their economic interests. A public opinion is built up which regards criticisms of local institutions as acts of disloyalty designed to destroy the good name of the community.

Sometimes this rivalry finds expression in a more commendable form as when one community unites all its forces in an effort to outstrip a rival in the improvement of streets or in adopting the most progressive methods of sanitation and public health. The stimulus to progress which comes from rivalry of this sort between neighboring places can hardly be over-estimated. The constant pressure of outside competition binds a community together and greatly accelerates its advancement.

The conflicts and rivalries between groups within the community may also be unifying forces that contribute to its solidarity. The community must be thought of as composed of diverse elements, all more or less dominated by unlike or perhaps antagonistic interests. The inevitable conflicts that result from such a situation cannot be regarded merely as disturbing forces that tear down and impede progress. They play also a constructive rôle, since these conflicts relieve tensions and pave the way for accommodations and adjustments that make it possible for opposing interests to exist side by

side with a minimum of friction and make their contributions to local improvements.

B. Coöperation. When American communities are studied from the point of view of their cöoperative undertakings, it is apparent that enterprises of this kind have lagged far behind other phases of progress. The coöperative movement in this country has failed to keep pace with what has been accomplished in some of the countries in Europe. In spite of the fact that such ventures as coöperative stores, coöperative banking and credit societies, and coöperative marketing associations have been developed far beyond the experimental stage, they are not yet a prominent factor in the majority of our communities. Theoretically they offer great possibilities as agencies making for solidarity, but they have not been given full opportunity to demonstrate their value. In the field of public utilities the coöperative movement has gone forward much more rapidly. Certain communal needs, such as water supply and sewage disposal, are quite generally recognized as responsibilities that should be assumed by the entire social unit. The present tendency is for this field of municipal activities to be constantly enlarged to include functions formerly regarded as suitable only for private enterprise. When there is added to this phase of communal life the recent development of coöperative experiments of a more informal and private nature between local groups that become interested in a common purpose, it is evident that the trend toward coöperation has already assumed real significance. Just to what extent these coöperative efforts are strengthening community solidarity it is not now possible to estimate with accuracy. Perhaps in many cases these undertakings have made their appeal primarily to restricted classes within the community or through mismanagement may have created divisions instead of promoting unity. Nevertheless, the ultimate unifying effect of coöperation cannot be questioned. Common participation in a task tends to submerge individual

conflicts and rivalries and creates attitudes favorable for further united effort.

When it is desired, therefore, to measure the progress made by any community in achieving unity, it is well to inquire into its experiences with coöperative undertakings. If a locality has never made any significant ventures in the field of coöperation, it is reasonable to doubt whether it has made much progress toward effective solidarity. The community worker interested in promoting solidarity should seek opportunities to promote coöperation between individuals and groups that may be facing a common problem. When the people of a community have attained a state of mind that predisposes them to join forces in various undertakings of general interest, their problem of solidarity has been largely solved.

C. Organization. In recent years the place of organization in the development of community solidarity has been given more serious attention. If coöperation is a prominent factor in uniting the community, devices that will facilitate coöperation become of the highest importance. It is in this rôle that organization plays its significant part. Administrative machinery must be built up that will enable the different groups to work together in the most effective manner possible. In some of the smaller places where the social situation is comparatively simple, this may take the form of plans for community meetings, celebrations of special occasions, and the promotion of definite projects in which all the people can participate. No great amount of administrative devices is required for work of this kind. Usually all that is needed is a simple type of organization that will bring the people together and provide for the proper conduct of the desired activities.

But when the community is larger and more complex, solidarity becomes much more dependent upon machinery specially designed to bring about an adjustment of the varied

local interests. The different groups, agencies, and organizations must be articulated into the life of the whole community in order that conflicts and friction may be reduced to a minimum. The different schemes of community organization may be described simply as devices that promote solidarity. Organization in this sense becomes a problem of accommodation and adjustment in which conflicting elements and forces are brought into a more harmonious working relationship. The present advance that is being made in work of this kind in many places seems to indicate the development of a more efficient and rational type of community solidarity than has been possible in the past.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What devices are commonly used to build up community loyalty?
2. Under what circumstances may community solidarity retard social progress?
3. To what extent does residence within a community carry with it the obligation to support its institutions?
4. Is the general exodus of young people from the small town and open country a tendency to be deplored? What can be done to decrease this type of mobility?
5. Describe two or more adjacent communities which seem to be so situated that they might coöperate to their mutual advantage.
6. What are the most common obstacles to intercommunity coöperation?
7. Point out the methods that are commonly being used to promote solidarity of communities within large cities.
8. Why are coöperative efforts more successful in one community than in another?
9. Give concrete examples where conflict has been of value in developing community solidarity.
10. Have recent efforts in community organization increased in any appreciable manner the solidarity of community life?

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CHAPTER V

CONSERVATISM IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Since community progress necessitates social change, it is important to inquire into the factors that cause resistance to change. It is often remarked that small towns and rural sections are strongholds of conservatism where rigid reliance on tradition frequently brings to naught all efforts to improve existing conditions. The usual explanation of this fact is the isolation of such communities with the resultant meagerness of their contacts with the broader currents of life.

Without doubt isolation is one of the factors that must be taken into account but it by no means tells the whole story. We must not forget that conservatism exists in other than isolated groups. It thrives also in one form or another in centers of industrial activity and intellectual culture among those who have abundant opportunity to keep in touch with progressive movements. The fundamental fact is that resistance to change is deeply rooted in human nature and that external circumstances serve merely to modify or accentuate this very natural human tendency.

Custom as a Factor in Conservatism.—One approach to an understanding of the conservatism which so frequently stands in the way of progress is through a study of the rôle played by custom in community life. Sumner in his *Folkways* has pointed out that customs which grow out of practical experience in meeting constantly recurring situations form the very groundwork of all social organization. Man's ability to profit by past experience, to acquire these social habits, is in fact a trait which distinguishes him from the lower orders of animal life. The customs of the group, just as the habits

of the individual, form a groove along which life moves easily and with a minimum of friction. Moreover, they are felt to be right because they represent the combined experience of the group and hence become authoritative and coercive.

The binding and relentless force of custom is strikingly portrayed in Crawford's *Thinking Black* in the following description of the negro in Africa:

> "The negro's way of doing a thing is merely to do it as the man who went before him did it. The slaves of precedent, they dog the steps of a thousand ancestors and such is the tenacity of the negro type that to this day their whole outfit of the 20th century A.D. can be found perfectly reproduced on Egyptian monuments of the same century B.C. Hence the Bantu song
>
> "A well-worn trail is a very good thing,
> It must lead up to a very good king;
> And so with customs of days of yore,
> We do what millions have done before.
>
> "That is to say precedent not principle is their black law. Thus glorying in this long Indian trail of antiquity, the Bantu tribes boast the identical kilt, mortar, pestle, and cooking ware of the Moses period."

Here we see man's tendency to follow the customary carried to the point of absurdity. The past has become absolute master of the present and normal progress becomes impossible. Another oft-quoted illustration is the stunted civilization of the Chinese people whose slavish devotion to the teachings of Confucius has caused each succeeding generation to endeavor to reconstruct the golden age of an idealized past. Where customs gain such a tyrannical hold on a people, their senses are closed to new suggestions and they are left hopelessly behind in the struggle of life.

While in Western lands customs hold a less autocratic sway, they are always a force to be reckoned with. In every community are customs and conventions dignified by long usage and possessing an authority which few dare question. Even when these customs no longer fit in with existing conditions,

they are modified very slowly because of the emotional values that cling to them. The social change that runs counter to them has no easy road to success. An ever-present problem confronted by the community worker is how to stem the tide of outworn customs that still maintain their power.

Conflict between Custom and Community Progress.—Illustrations of this conflict between custom and community progress are seen on every hand. Scientific methods of dealing with the poor make slow headway because of the century-old traditions of almsgiving which still exert a powerful influence. The attitude toward play of our Puritan forefathers stands in the way of the proper provision of recreational facilities, although the value of play for young and old has been scientifically demonstrated. Political customs become so firmly entrenched that the adoption of such business methods in town management as the use of the budget system and the appointment of trained personnel seems revolutionary and in many cases is successfully resisted. Ecclesiastical traditions prevent the church from keeping pace with changing conditions. Theological doctrines and forms of worship that are no longer satisfactory expressions of religious aspirations retain their hold on the masses of the people. The older forms of education that represented the best thought and experience of a past generation bind with fetters present-day minds and make improvements in the school system exceedingly slow and difficult. Age-old ideas of punishment find expression in inhumane treatment of criminals in spite of the fact that such treatment is in conflict with modern principles of justice and has conclusively been proved to be ineffective.

The binding force of customs such as these is not overcome merely by demonstrating that new methods are more desirable. The old has arisen out of past successful experience and has gathered about it feelings and sentiments wholly lacking in that which is new. For this reason departure from old customs seems to be perilous. Insistence upon the accepted code becomes more or less arbitrary. The people feel that

they must preserve their traditions and customs uncontaminated by outside influences. In order to accomplish this, various efforts are made to control the necessary contacts of the community with the outside world. Those who persist in coming in from the outside are looked upon with suspicion and are given an inferior social status designed to weaken their influence. In primitive communities such persons were summarily dealt with by being put to death. At the present time outsiders are admitted, but the continuance of existing customs is safeguarded by keeping them in a subordinate and uninfluential position until they have become assimilated. This is well illustrated in our treatment of newly arrived immigrants who are compelled to live in segregated quarters and engage in forms of work that are least desirable and remunerative. It is also clearly seen in the social ostracism which is the frequent lot of American families of good social status when they first attempt to establish themselves in a town or small city widely removed in custom and tradition from their former place of residence. Even the professional leaders who are brought in from other communities, the preachers, teachers, chamber of commerce secretaries, city managers, community workers are made to realize that their methods and message must be adapted to the place in which they have come to live. Outside lecturers, whether they appear on the Chautauqua platform or under the auspices of a church, a club, or a political party, are listened to attentively in proportion to their ability to cater to the great desire of the people to be confirmed in their traditional views of life. Old members of the community who enjoy opportunities for travel are inclined to see the world through glasses colored by their own provincial outlook and return home ardent advocates of the old order.

With the assistance of these and other similar protective devices the domination of custom in community life has been readily assured. The question that is now coming to the front is whether the time has not come to appraise more carefully

prevailing customs and determine their value as a guide to progress. Instead of following custom blindly, would not more be gained by increasing the measure of social control and direction in ways indicated by well-thought-out experience and scientific study? This attempt to guide and control local customs is at the heart of the modern community movement. The growing success in the field of sanitation and public health is an excellent example of old customs giving way to scientific knowledge and technique. But even in such a tangible and important field as this, the struggle between the old and the new is serious and long-drawn-out. The great difficulty is that people live in their customs and are unconsciously dominated by them. We cannot help being prejudiced in favor of the plan of life made familiar to us through long usage. Customs and institutions, outworn though they may be, cannot be brushed aside simply because of their inadequacy. They are felt to be a part of our lives and therefore cannot be made the subject of impersonal judgments.

The Stabilizing Influence of Custom.—But while custom frequently retards progress, we must remind ourselves that it operates also as a beneficent force in bringing order out of what otherwise would be hopeless confusion. Through man's tendency to a common response to similar situations there has developed the uniformity and orderliness that are necessary for social progress. It would be hard indeed to picture a community where each man was a law unto himself and was not at all swayed by the call of the habitual and the customary. Certainly the disorder resulting from this state of affairs would be as disastrous to progress as the stagnation that comes from blind slavery to past customs.

The community worker facing the barrier of custom that seems to be holding back the tide of progress must therefore take pains to understand the nature of this allegiance to the old and its proper place in the history of the past. When it is seen that man's adherence to custom is in a sense an expression of his instinctive recoil from the unfamiliar and unknown,

we can understand that it is not an abnormal phenomenon of human nature that can be ignored or cast aside at will. When further we comprehend how the strongly entrenched local customs embody the accumulated experiences of past generations and have proven their worth through long use, there is less inclination to look upon them as an inveterate foe of progress. Customs and traditions necessarily form a bulwark of conservatism, but they should not be regarded merely as a stone wall opposing needed changes. They should also be thought of as a bulwark of defense against the encroachments of fanaticism and of ill-planned schemes of social betterment that at times threaten the stability of society.

The Place of Habit in the Social Ritual.—Another approach to an understanding of the conservatism of communities is through a consideration of the nature of habit and crisis. In Thomas' *Source Book for Social Origins* is the following clear statement of the relation of habit and crisis to group life:

"Attention is the mental attitude which takes note of the outside world and manipulates it; it is the organ of accommodation. But attention does not operate alone; it is associated with habit on the one hand and with crisis on the other. When the habits are running smoothly the attention is relaxed; it is not at work. But when something happens to disturb the run of habit the attention is called into play and devises a new mode of behavior which will meet the crisis. That is, the attention establishes new and adequate habits, or it is its function to do so.

"Such conditions as the exhaustion of game, the intrusion of outsiders, defeat in battle, floods, drought, pestilence, and famine illustrate one class of crisis. The incidents of birth, death, adolescence, and marriage, while not unanticipated, are always foci of attention and occasions for control. They throw a strain upon attention and affect the mental life of the group. . . .

"The great part of our life is lived in the region of habit. The habits, like the instincts, are safe and serviceable. They have been tried, and they are associated with a feeling of security. There consequently grows up in the folk-mind a determined resistance to change. And there is a degree of sense in this, for while change implies possibilities of improvement, it also implies danger of disaster, or a worse

condition. It must also be acknowledged that a state of rapid and constant change implies loss of settled habits and disorganization. As a result, all societies view change with suspicion, and the attempt to revise certain habits is even viewed as immorality."

As is here pointed out, habitual actions, which have become so much a matter of routine that they are carried on with a minimum of attention, relieve the nervous system of a great amount of stress and strain. This fact is of importance in understanding our aversion to interference with ways of doing things that have become habitual. Changes in what has been called the social ritual mean readjustments which involve the expenditure of time and energy. The old and familiar represent the line of least resistance. Consequently the people of a community tend to cling tenaciously to their old customs and look with disfavor upon any proposed departure from the beaten path.

Influence of Crisis on Social Change.—Nevertheless, in any community crises or serious emergencies may occur with which the social ritual is unable to cope. In the process of readjustment, new methods and new points of view force their way to the front, thus bringing about changes that otherwise would have appeared to be impossible. A notable example of this is the rebuilding of the city of Halifax which was partially destroyed in 1917 by a terrible disaster caused by the explosion of a shipload of munitions. Up to that time the city had been known as a stronghold of conservatism and had been drifting along apparently indifferent to the progress made by other cities in dealing with social and civic problems. Inadequate attention had been paid to its sewers, its water supply, and the condition of the streets. But in the effort to build up a new city out of the ashes of the catastrophe, these problems affecting the welfare of the people were seen in a better perspective. Former ways of doing things were felt to be out of date and unsatisfactory, and with unusual rapidity a new social ritual was developed which included provision for many long-needed public welfare activities. The crisis shook off the

dead hand of the past and cleared the way for the formation of new civic habits.[1]

The social change that follows crisis does not of course always mean progress. Whether any given community will make a satisfactory adjustment in the presence of an emergency depends upon a number of factors, such as the nature of the disaster, the number of the people involved, the opportunity to learn from the experience of other communities similarly situated, the character of the prevailing ideas of the people, and the quality of leadership available. Since these factors are extremely variable and are not all subject to social control, it is impossible to predict in any precise manner the kind of social change that will follow a crisis. Such examples of rapid progress following disaster as were seen in the rebuilding of San Francisco and Halifax seem to indicate, at least, the vast results that can be accomplished when the forces set in motion by the crisis are utilized to the best advantage. It may even be found to be true that a concentration of effort at the proper psychological moment is worth far more in general community work than a long-drawn-out struggle in season and out of season to bring to pass desired improvements. The fact that inventions usually spring out of necessity when the time is ripe for their appearance should be considered in this connection. Unless there is a realization of need widely enough felt to attract public attention, not much hope need be placed in even a well-organized effort to bring about changed conditions.

This suggests the importance to the community worker of any crisis that occurs in a community even though it may not be of a sensational nature and bring widespread devastation in its wake. In every locality there take place from time to time unusual events that carry with them in their limited field the psychological effects of crises and present favorable opportunities for social change that should not be ignored. A religious revival may arouse an enthusiasm for service that

[1] Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change.*

might very well under proper leadership lead to progress in the solution of civic problems. The destruction of a few buildings in the business section of a small city may be seized upon as an appropriate time for the inauguration of a city plan. An epidemic of disease opens the door for the development of a public health program. The educational publicity incident to a financial drive for social organizations creates a public opinion that may be utilized in winning popular support for neglected fields of social work. The presentation of a pageant awakens sentiments that may be crystallized into a movement for a more beautiful and wholesome community. A local survey of social conditions throws a searchlight upon existing institutions and attracts the public attention necessary to make effective any proposals to improve their methods of operation. Crises such as these are a constant challenge to the intelligent community worker to utilize the state of mind that prevails at the moment and give proper expression and direction to the partially formed desires of the people for community improvement.

The power of crisis to break through the crust of a well-established social ritual is by no means uniform in every community. A great deal depends upon the character of the prevailing ideas, which may vary widely in different places. In an Oriental community pride in the past is as real as American pride in modern improvements. The fatalistic view of life held by the Mohammedans is unfavorable to social change. In many American towns local pride stimulates a provincial outlook that is intolerant of suggestions looking toward needed changes. Their citizens look about them with a complacent air and thank God that they are not like other communities. In such places even strong leaders will dash themselves against the rocks in their efforts to introduce that which is new. It is only under the influence of a great crisis such as the World War or in the presence of an exceptional disaster that groups of this kind are aroused out of their self-complacency and become willing to adopt whatever may promote their greater

proficiency. Other places seem characterized by the spirit of progress. Public service is held in high esteem and able leaders come forward whenever needed. The people are open to new suggestions and take pride in profiting by the experiences of others. In such communities crises are utilized to their full advantage and progressive movements go forward without difficulty.

Habit and Community Progress.—In the effort to bring about desirable changes in a locality it should be kept in mind that these proposed changes involve interference with well-established habits which do not lend themselves readily to modification. The process of adjustment to a new social ritual is necessarily slow and painful. This is well illustrated by the popular attitude towards new statements of religious faith. Nothing makes the average religious adherent more uncomfortable and indignant than to be compelled to face a new interpretation of long-accepted religious doctrines. Our old beliefs have become habitual and are felt to be a part of our lives. As long as they are unquestioned, they give us no trouble and we give them little thought. But when we are called upon to accept new beliefs, we face the necessity of a readjustment in our religious thinking which is by no means easy to make. Most people seemingly prefer to follow the line of least resistance and remain thoughtless and contented followers of the religious creed to which they have been long accustomed.

Local leaders who through the advantage of superior knowledge and experience have successfully adjusted themselves to progressive points of view are too likely to be impatient with those who oppose their plans without giving any good reason for their opposition. Time is required for the people of a community to readjust themselves to new ideas and methods. Conservatism is to be expected because it grows partly out of the nature of habit in whose meshes all are more or less deeply entangled.

But emphasis must also be placed on the fact that it is

through the building up of new habits that progress becomes possible. Here is found the final test of the success of any community movement. The problem is not solved when through the influence of a few wide-awake leaders an appropriate agency is established or the needed legislation secured. The situation is never well in hand until the habits of the people are adjusted to the new regime. In the effort to bring this about too much haste is likely to prove disastrous. Time is always an important factor in an educational problem. It is only through patient and long-continued work that new ideas can find expression in the habitual activities of the people.

Vested Interests Opposing Social Change.—Among the forces that enter into community conservatism, large place must be given to those elements in society whose interests seem to be furthered by the continuance of the status quo. No matter how obsolete and outworn an institution may become, those who depend upon it for a livelihood or have a sentimental attachment to its traditions can be counted upon as its loyal supporters. Resistance to change of this sort is inevitable and a certain amount of it may have a wholesome effect in preventing a too rapid rejection of values that have proved useful in the past. But when vested interests take the form of powerful financial, political, or ecclesiastical institutions, proposed social changes that run counter to their desires and policies are likely to be overwhelmed by organized opposition of the most ruthless kind.

A. Capitalistic Industry. One of the outstanding vested interests that are vitally affected by the aims of community work is the industrial system. During a century or more of growth it has strongly entrenched itself in our social order and is rightly regarded as a fundamental factor in modern progress. Guided as it has been by the ideal of efficiency in production rather than that of the promotion of human welfare, it has often ridden roughshod over the many for the advantage of the few and thereby has aroused serious opposi-

tion that seems to threaten its future security. So keen has become the struggle of industrialism to maintain its dominating position that it views with suspicion community work that goes beyond the traditional rôle of amelioration. Criticism of its methods of operation is resented and an effort is made to build up a belief that any questioning of its policies can only come from enemies of the social order itself.

The community worker accordingly has impressed upon him that his work in the field of social change is by no means to affect adversely established economic interests. At the present time nothing endangers a social worker's influence more than to be thought to be economically heterodox. The Cincinnati Social Unit had some of its most serious difficulties because its chief promoter was known to have held socialistic opinions. In spite of the fact that his economic philosophy was a personal affair and had nothing to do with the policies of the organization, the whole experiment was placed under the suspicion of being an attempt to undermine the existing order of society. An incident showing how social workers must keep themselves free from the taint of economic heterodoxy occurred just following the World War in a division office of a national welfare organization. A well-known socialist who had formerly been a social worker happened to be in the city at the time of a meeting of a portion of the division staff and was invited to attend the meeting and speak about his prison experiences during the war. When this became known to the management the worker who had extended the invitation was asked to resign at once and his immediate superior who had failed to veto the invitation was refused a promised promotion and soon left the organization. The war psychosis doubtless was partly responsible for this drastic action on the part of the vested interests in control of this organization, but it nevertheless is fairly typical of their attitude toward social workers suspected of being unduly sympathetic toward the more radical movements.

The vested interests of capitalistic industry carefully scru-

tinize proposed social changes to see if they in any way endanger the existing economic system. In southern mill villages the employers usually prefer to have the community work entirely under their direction so that the community house might not become a center for the discussion of standards of living and hours of labor. The long-drawn-out struggle to retain the twelve-hour day in the steel industry and the fight against collective bargaining show how industry tries to retain its traditional advantages. The social worker is welcomed and cordially supported when he comes along to pick up the wreckage, but he must not question economic policies if he turns his attention to preventive work. A case in point is the difficulty of including the budget of an organization like the Consumers' League in a joint financial campaign of a welfare federation. The fact that the success of a financial drive for the support of social agencies would seem to be imperilled by the inclusion of an organization that is frankly concerned with industrial policies and problems throws light on industry's conception of the proper sphere of social work. It should not be forgotten also that the long-continued opposition of certain industrial interests to the restriction of immigration has made a satisfactory adjustment of that problem extremely difficult. In a similar manner the vested interests of industry have fought against the adoption of social insurance, workmen's compensation laws, parcel post, and many other social changes that were clearly in the interests of the mass of the people.

B. Political Interests. Politics is another vested interest that may easily prove to be the Waterloo of a community worker. The promotion of community welfare cannot go very far without running up against outworn political traditions. For example, county government is notoriously mismanaged in many of our states and in some of our large cities it duplicates the work of city officials at the expense of the taxpayers. But the existing status must not be interfered with by the social worker even though a comprehensive plan

of community organization would demand a more business-like management of county affairs. The social worker who attempts to include governmental reforms in his program of action soon finds that powerful forces are arrayed against him. When it becomes necessary to secure social legislation, he must appeal as a suppliant to political leaders who carefully scrutinize his proposals to see whether they will be injurious to political interests.

In many states the prison system is still regarded as legitimate spoils for the political party in power. Programs of social betterment that include a more scientific administration of our prisons run counter to political traditions and consequently make headway very slowly. The continual exploitation of prisoners in the interests of a political machine has become so general that the social worker who raises his voice against it makes but little impression on public opinion.

Another illustration of the power of politics to prevent needed social changes is seen in the political administration of social work. The administration of public poor relief by township, county, and city has long been notorious for its inefficiency. In spite of the advance made in scientific methods of handling this problem, political leaders in too many instances still persist in using the poor funds for the promotion of political purposes. The community worker who attempts to handle this problem in his local program encounters vested interests that are strongly entrenched. Their dominating force in public welfare has made real leadership rare in public service of this nature and has proven to be the greatest hindrance to the taking over of social service activities by governmental agencies.

C. Ecclesiastical Interests. The church is a vested interest that sometimes opposes progress and has most frequently been noted in its opposition to the advance of science. It is fearful of the introduction of new ideas and practices that might undermine the faith of its constituency. Its success is too often felt to be bound up with the maintenance of the

status quo, and to the extent that this becomes its settled policy it tends to lag behind instead of occupying a place of leadership.

Certain churches have greatly slowed up social progress by continuing to preach an individualistic philosophy long after the new emphasis on the social gospel has been widely accepted. Without doubt the traditional emphasis of the church on the necessity of escape from an evil world has given many an excuse for not taking more seriously the work of social betterment. There is too much foundation for the charge brought forward by labor leaders that the church makes people patient with existing evils by concentrating their attention on the rewards of the future life. Fortunately, the new note struck by the modern church emphasizes its responsibility in seeking a solution of social problems, but the vested interests of ecclesiasticism still maintain their traditional views in many sections of the country.

Not merely in its attitude toward social problems, but in its methods of dealing with these problems, the church has had difficulty in adapting itself to modern conditions. The relief societies connected with the church have been slow in making use of the technique of social case work. Social workers frequently find great difficulty in getting such organizations as the King's Daughters, St. Vincent de Paul Societies, Salvation Army, and Volunteers of America to use the confidential exchange and coöperate whole-heartedly in constructive work. Traditional methods of almsgiving were a vested interest of the church and are clung to in spite of scientific advance in this field of work. Orphanages under the control of the church have resisted the adoption of modern methods of child care. Recreation and play are still looked upon by many churches as closely allied with worldliness. These and similar attitudes and policies of the church are a part of its traditional heritage which hamper its progress. Its vested interests become guardians of the past and regard with fear

and suspicion the development of new methods of community work that might make necessary far-reaching adjustments in their conception of religious life and work.

D. Education. Our educational system, too, frequently becomes a vested interest which endeavors to perpetuate the ideas and methods of a past generation. Admirably designed as it is for the transmission of culture to the new generation, it always faces the danger of undue domination by political, religious, or business interests. This danger appears in some church schools and colleges which become citadels fortified against the evolutionary theory. In a similar manner, state universities may become centers for the perpetuation of classical theories of economics instead of encouraging constructive thinking that might lead to serious criticism of the present industrial order. The educational institution itself becomes a vested interest which must not endanger its future growth and prosperity by going against the current of business methods and ideals.

The curriculum of the professional school tends to be organized along traditional and narrowly professional lines ill-adapted to the development of broad-minded leaders. The community movement would undoubtedly be furthered if professional schools of law, medicine, and the ministry would include in their curricula studies that would give their students a social vision and an understanding of the social process. Each school, however, finds itself so hard-pressed to give adequate attention to its various specialties that a broader scope of study appears impracticable. The curriculum itself becomes a vested interest that is more intent on resisting change than on adapting itself to new requirements.

While the public schools also have by no means escaped from blind allegiance to traditional methods, some recent tendencies point in an entirely different direction. Community center programs, more enlightened method of dealing with truancy, the utilization of visiting teachers, improvements in mental tests and in ways of dealing with backward children

furnish striking evidence of changes in the school system that are giving it a larger place in the community movement.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What types of communities tend to remain conservative?
2. What light does Sumner's explanation of the origin and nature of custom throw on community conservatism?
3. Give actual instances of conflict between community customs and modern social movements.
4. How do you explain the common prejudice against outside leadership? In what fields of activity is this prejudice less pronounced?
5. What procedure should the community worker adopt in his efforts to change outworn customs?
6. Summarize Ogburn's discussion of the rôle of habit in cultural inertia (*Social Change,* pp. 173-180).
7. Explain why community disasters offer a favorable opportunity to initiate new movements. Give out of your own observation, if possible, instances where serious disasters were followed by an accelerated rate of progress.
8. To what extent may vested interests be held responsible for the slowness of communities to adopt new methods of dealing with their social problems?
9. Point out the factors that make for conservatism in a community of which you have intimate knowledge.
10. How do you account for the fact that communities apparently differ so widely in their tendency to modify their customs and traditional methods of work?
11. What institutions of a community are most likely to be dominated by a conservative spirit?
12. What practical steps may be taken in overcoming community conservatism?

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CHAPTER VI

INFLUENCE OF ECONOMIC FACTORS ON COMMUNITY CHANGE

The Basic Nature of Economic Factors.—In a consideration of the problem of community change it is necessary to give due attention to the rôle played by economic factors. The struggle for existence is generally said to be basic in the sense that man's first problem is concerned with the satisfaction of his bodily needs. There is no escape from the necessity of providing food and shelter, and these elementary needs must be met before man is in a position to give thought to the other requirements of a well-rounded life.

Because of the fundamental nature of the economic life some people have thought that the economic element in society has exerted a determining influence on all other aspects of human life. The Marxian socialists have, for example, held that "the method of the production of the material life determines the social, political and spiritual life process." This so-called materialistic conception of history or economic determinism has played a prominent part in the struggle of labor against capital, but no longer is generally advocated in its extreme form.

Nevertheless, the economic side of life is of fundamental importance, and those interested in the community movement cannot afford to ignore it. One of the great mistakes of community programs has been their neglect of the economic foundations of progress. Business men as well as leaders in economic thought have been too frequently justified in their criticism of social workers on the ground that they are visionary and impractical and unable to square their theories with the

industrial situation. If the community worker is to build solidly and well he must think of his problem as including economic factors which vitally affect all schemes of social betterment.

Economic Factors in Community Work.—Since community organization has traditionally been concerned with the solution of social problems, community programs have been frequently worked out with but slight reference to the economic situation. This mode of procedure has come about very naturally for the community worker's center of interest is, after all, social, and not economic. His chief task is not industrial promotion but social betterment. While this specialization of function is clear, the inter-relation of social and economic forces is so close that they can not be entirely separated. The land values of a city, the nature and location of its industries, means of transportation, the volume of employment, local wage rates, and conditions of labor, standards of living, the housing problem, condition of the streets, and similar matters affecting the economic status of the community are all inseparably bound up with questions of social progress. Responsibility for giving attention to these economic factors may well be entrusted to specialized agencies such as the chamber of commerce or a merchants' association, but they must be thought of as an essential part of the whole community problem. Failure to do this has too frequently been a weakness of the community movement. The worker has seemed to detach from the community the social problems in which he is interested and then proceed as if they could be dealt with apart from other related problems. Such a procedure is fatal in any case and more especially so when the neglected factor is the economic situation.

Before any plan is made for community work it is important that there be a careful appraisal of industrial and business conditions. The city in which business is stagnant and industrial development backward is likely to be a poor place in which to launch a social work program. If no significant

advances are being made economically, we have little ground for hope that much progress will be made along other lines. Usually interest in the improvement of the material side of the community, such as better buildings, better streets, etc., precedes interest in the promotion of social welfare. This does not mean, of course, that economic progress carries in its train the improvement of social conditions. On the contrary, business prosperity sometimes makes a town blind to its higher interests and especially neglectful of those who do not share in its prosperity. But in the long run community work must depend upon the ability of the people to support it financially. The town that is at a low industrial ebb cannot increase its taxes or make private contributions necessary for the support of a comprehensive community program. By giving proper attention to economic factors the social worker is able to plan his program more wisely and at the same time guard against the danger of inadequate financial support.

The Process of Economic Change.—One of the characteristics of modern civilization is the rapidity of changes taking place in the whole field of industry. In primitive times the struggle for existence was much more simple and tended to follow stabilized modes of activity that remained fairly constant over long periods of time. Prior to the Industrial Revolution climate, geographical conditions, and natural resources were the chief factors that determined for any particular people the ways in which their fundamental problems of food, clothing, and shelter were solved. And since these environmental factors were subject to little change, the forms of material culture were handed down from generation to generation with little or no necessity for extensive modification. But with the rise of modern inventions there was ushered in an era characterized by increasingly rapid industrial changes. The use of steam and electricity and the invention of complicated machinery that vastly multiplied man's productive power revolutionized the old industrial order and turned its former stability into constant efforts to keep

pace with new needs and discoveries. Permanency no longer holds the important place accorded to it in the past. The highly-prized machinery of to-day is out of date long before it is ready for the scrap heap. Buildings are still put up substantially but with the full knowledge that they will likely be regarded as architectural monstrosities a generation hence. All our ideas of transportation and communication have been revolutionized during the past few years and we believe we have just made a beginning in the solution of problems of this kind. Methods of business also are being transformed to keep pace with industrial changes. So rapidly are these changes in business and industry taking place that we are now living in a new world which from the the point of view of its material culture has little in common with the world of a few generations ago.

But the striking fact is not so much the vast extent of these economic changes, but the willingness of man to accept them, to work for them, and to take over an attitude of mind that predisposes him to welcome new methods of solving the problems of subsistence. The significance of this is more apparent when we recall man's traditional conservatism in other aspects of his life. In the field of religion, education, politics, and family life, tradition remains a powerful force that binds man to the past with shackles that are not readily broken. An explanation of this seeming inconsistency of action may be found in man's increasing necessity of improving his methods of satisfying his fundamental wants. The essential activities by which life itself is preserved must be modified in ways that will produce the best results. If this is not done material progress cannot keep pace with man's increasing numbers, and his growing demands for larger satisfactions of life. Consequently in this field of activity unreasoning prejudice remains at a minimum. It is possible to demonstrate with reasonable clearness that the new is better than the old in industrial methods, for those who cling to that which is outworn are through relentless competition quickly

forced to the wall. Our farmers were disposed to doubt the possibility of flying, but their arguments were finally disposed of by the invention of the flying machine. That question is no longer a matter for debate. Whatever our traditional prejudice against this form of locomotion, we are gradually adjusting ourselves to a new age when the flying machine will be accepted as a necessary part of a modern system of transportation.

It is through this willingness to change, this constant effort to improve old methods and devices that material progress has been made possible. Success in making unceasing adaptations to new conditions and demands has built up the feeling that change is an essential part of the economic process. Change, therefore, in this field is not to be feared. Sentimental attitudes about the past are taboo in the realm of business. Under the spur of ceaseless competition, industrial leaders move on into new fields and better methods with little regret for the old that is left behind.

Maladjustment Between Economic and Social Changes.—Even a cursory view of the past reveals the obvious fact that the changes incident to progress do not go forward uniformly in all fields of human life. The different parts of culture do not change at the same pace. The material side of life, as has been pointed out, is characterized by openmindedness to change, readiness to profit by new discoveries and improvements. The resulting rapid development of industry has so profoundly modified the material side of civilization that corresponding changes must take place in social organization, customs, and institutions. But these latter tend to become static and fixed and consequently lag behind. The forces that make for conservatism find here a fertile field over which they have been able to dominate. Any proposal to modify our social institutions comes in conflict with traditional sentiments and emotional attitudes that do not readily give way to more rational points of view. As Professor Keller has pointed out, proposed changes in the family, in

religion, or in government lack incontrovertible evidence in their favor.[1] Attempts to modify these institutions present an unlimited field for debate and formidable arguments can be advanced on both sides.

To the Christian, Christianity represents the greatest advance made in the search for spiritual values; but when it is proposed that Christianity supersede Buddhism, unanswerable arguments cannot be brought forward to silence the doubts of the Buddhists. The proponents of the two religious systems will set forth their doctrines and point with pride to the spiritual attainments that have crowned their teachings. Each religion has had from its own point of view signal successes in this world and as far as the next world is concerned there do not exist convincing demonstrations of the superior efficacy of either religion. Verification in the tangible way that is common in the material world is not possible in the field of religion, and this makes it possible for unreasoning prejudice to hold its own against logic and reason.

An excellent example of the difference in pace between social and economic change is found in the history of Japan during the past two generations. At the time when the Japanese were forced to open their doors to westerners, they were united in their bitter prejudice against western civilization. During the years that followed there was no organized attempt to persuade the Japanese to take over the western banking system, railways, methods of manufacture and business. The Japanese themselves saw that they must either do this or through competition be forced into a position where their nation would be helpless against the encroachments of foreign trade. With astonishing rapidity the material side of western civilization was taken over by the Japanese, with the result that their nation to-day is one of the great world powers.

But in the field of religion no such a remarkable change has taken place, although Christian missionaries from Europe and America followed almost immediately after the arrival of

[1] *Societal Evolution*, chs. 4-5.

Commodore Perry, and have made prodigious efforts to convert the Japanese to the Christian faith. From the Christian point of view the civilization of Japan is insecure, because it is not based on a Christian foundation. But this is not easily demonstrated or verified to the satisfaction of non-Christian Japanese. It enters into a realm of discussion where sentiment and tradition and prejudice prevail. Japanese religious ideas and beliefs are undoubtedly adjusting themselves to the new situation in which Japan finds itself, but this adjustment follows slowly after their economic and industrial changes. In a similar fashion a gradual change is taking place in the whole fabric of Japanese social life. Their traditional family customs, ideas of government and education, their attitude toward art, and their forms of social organization are undergoing profound modifications designed to adapt them to the new economic situation.

The history of modern civilization in every country furnishes many similar illustrations of this maladjustment between economic and social changes. The Industrial Revolution with its change from the handicraft system to the modern factory with its more complex type of industrial organization brought in its train a flood of social changes out of which arose many of the social problems we are facing to-day. Much of the present trouble with the instability of family life is because the modern family has not yet adjusted itself satisfactorily to an economic situation where the father and sometimes the mother and children carry on their daily work outside the home. Maladjustments of this kind are discussed by Professor Ogburn in his *Social Change* under the nomenclature of the "hypothesis of the cultural lag". The thesis he advances is that the source of most modern social changes is found in the material conditions of life. The changes in the material culture necessitate corresponding changes in social organization, but the latter lag behind, thus giving rise to social problems. His hypothesis is tested out in an elaborate manner by a study of workmen's compensation laws

in which it appears that a measurable period elapsed between the time when the number of industrial accidents became significantly large due to the growth of the machine industry and the time of the adoption of workmen's compensation. In Professor Keller's *Societal Evolution* this maladjustment is referred to as "the strain toward consistency in the mores". That is, fundamental changes in the economic sphere are followed by such changes in what he calls the secondary institutions as are required to bring them into harmony with the new methods employed in the struggle for existence. His striking simile sets forth clearly his point of view. "The code of the maintenance-organization is the dominant chord vibrating to the tone of the struggle with nature and fellow-man; the rest of the mores are, as it were, overtones of that chord. The latter must die away and be succeeded by others as the major chord is altered under changed conditions of the environment." [2]

This emphasis upon the significance of economic factors in social change need not lead us to a full acceptance of the economic interpretation of history. Along with the importance of the material side of life, recognition must also be given to the value of cultural and spiritual forces and to the part they play in progress. In these days of rapid industrial changes, the economic stands out with unusual prominence just because of the rapidity of its advance and the spectacular nature of the changes in this field. But there is no justification for the extreme position that all progress is bound up in economic advancement. On the contrary, there must be kept in mind the rôle that science and education have played in the invention of machinery and in the discovery of means of control over nature which alone have made possible the achievements of industry. Religion itself is a motive force that profoundly modifies the trend of human progress. Art and literature and all the higher spiritual ideals and values have their glory in the fact that they rise superior to the

[2] Keller "Societal Evolution," pp. 160-61.

sordidness of the struggle for material wealth. Nevertheless, the material conditions of life assert their power on every hand and cannot be ignored when plans are made to bring about desired social changes.

Summary of Relation of Economic Factors to Community Work.—While much difference of opinion may exist as to the emphasis that should be given to economic forces in the field of community organization, the following brief summary sets forth some of the more obvious ways in which the problem of community change is affected by the economic situation.

A. Usually interest in the improvement of the material side of community life precedes interest in improvement in the field of social welfare. But the latter does not necessarily keep pace with the material achievements. Moreover, it cannot be successfully argued that industrial progress will as a matter of course be followed by social betterment. Business prosperity sometimes seems to make a community blind or indifferent to its social and civic responsibilities.

B. People seem to accept economic changes more readily because they affect immediate interests, and their value is plainly demonstrable. Community workers, therefore, in their advocacy of social changes would do well to emphasize in their publicity the economic advantages that are closely associated with social betterment.

C. There is continually going on in any community a readjustment of the whole community life to the changes in the industrial situation. This is a slow and to a considerable extent unconscious process, but it does represent a distinct current in community life and social movements that are in accord with it stand a good chance of success. Through a study of these natural changes and the causes that bring them about, it should be possible for the community worker to plan his program to take advantage of the current rather than to go against it.

D. A community where there are normal business conditions with varied opportunities for economic success open to

many people is likely to be characterized by an openmindedness to change; while a community where the wealth is in the hands of a few who are able to keep the mass of the people in more or less subordination has a tendency to develop a distinct social cleavage that makes progress difficult. In communities of this latter kind emphasis upon the work of social agencies may lead to little real improvement. A readjustment of the economic situation must be included in any comprehensive community program.

E. Economic progress is fundamentally important in community betterment because the latter is largely dependent upon either public or private funds for support. The community dead industrially cannot or thinks it cannot increase its taxes or make private contributions sufficient in amount to put into effect an aggressive community program. Community workers, therefore, should keep in mind that a complete program embraces economic as well as social welfare interests. By giving due recognition to the need and value of economic progress and material development, the criticism of being impractical and visionary is avoided, and a sound basis is laid for securing the needed financial support.

F. Nevertheless, the social worker's interest is social and not economic. His chief task is not industrial promotion but community betterment. Whatever may be the economic situation, leadership is needed in arousing the locality to a recognition of its social problems. The social worker must not stand back and delay his program simply because industry is lagging behind. Where the economic situation is bad, the social situation is likely to be worse. Under such circumstances community work may seem discouraging, but the need justifies serious and carefully planned efforts to bring about wholesome conditions of life.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Make a list of economic factors that have a vital bearing upon the development of community work.

2. What aspects of the industrial situation are usually included in a community study? Is it advisable for such a study to give larger emphasis to economic problems?

3. Explain why industrial changes seem to take place more readily than do changes in other institutions of the community.

4. Give instances of maladjustments growing out of the failure of social institutions to keep pace with changes in the industrial order.

5. Point out the differences, if any, between Keller's "strain toward consistency in the mores", and Ogburn's "hypothesis of the cultural lag".

6. Is it practicable to develop community programs that deal with both social and economic problems.

7. What rôle should chambers of commerce and similar organizations play in the community movement?

8. Describe a community where the community movement seems unduly dominated by business and industrial interests.

9. How would you determine the proper relation between the expenditures for the support of voluntary social agencies and the financial resources of a community?

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PART II

TYPICAL EXPERIMENTS IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER VII

EARLY BEGINNINGS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

I. The Coördination of Relief Agencies

Rise of the Charity Organization Movement.—Without doubt the early beginnings of community organization can be traced back to the charity organization movement which originated in England in 1869. In those days the field of philanthropic effort was largely concentrated upon the work of poor relief. The failure of the church and the state to deal adequately with the problem of poverty led to the organization of many private relief societies under various auspices with little or no attempt to correlate their activities. The resulting confusion in the administration of relief seemed to increase rather than to alleviate the evils of poverty and made inevitable a movement designed to bring order out of the chaotic attempts at poor relief and thus prevent the further pauperization of the poverty stricken classes.

The immediate cause of the establishment of the Charity Organization Society in London was the vast increase in the number of paupers in London in the sixties. During that ten year period in spite of all the rapid development of commerce and industry, the number of officially supported paupers in London increased from 85,000 to 120,000; and the annual expenditure from 4,000,000 to 7,000,000 dollars. This was entirely apart from the work of the private philanthropic agencies which spent large sums of money in a prodigal manner and seemingly to little purpose.[1]

[1] Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States*, p. 53.

The detrimental effects of indiscriminate almsgiving stood out in the minds of the organizers of the Charity Organization Society as the all-important fact which demanded consideration. The tendency of the poor to go into criminality instead of seeking opportunities for normal self-support seemed to be convincing evidence that something was radically wrong with the prevailing methods of poor relief. Questions were raised as to the wisdom of supplementing the inadequate earnings of the poor with grants of financial aid from private and public sources. Many who were eking out their existence through reliance upon poor funds needed help and encouragement in finding suitable employment. Pressure, however, could not be brought to bear upon the able-bodied poor to go to work as long as charitable funds were easily available. What was needed was a working agreement on the part of all charitable organizations that would make possible a consistent and constructive policy in dealing with poor individuals and families to whom financial assistance was being given.

The effort to meet this situation led to the calling of a conference in London in 1868 to which were invited representatives of all the charities at work in the city. A considerable number responded to this call, but the proposed plan for uniting their forces was too radical to gain ready acceptance. The following year those most interested in this new movement succeeded in establishing a "'Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity" which later was renamed the Charity Organization Society.

Among the first plans of the London Charity Organization Society was the establishment of district committees in different parts of London to organize the varied local efforts being made to help the poor. This was to be done largely through the district committee serving as a clearing house for the charity work of each district. The function of the clearing house was limited to the better organization of relief, and

did not include its administration. The Society, at first, handled no funds and its work was carried on for a while by volunteer secretaries. Experience soon showed that plans for correlation could not accomplish much as long as the standards of the relief agencies remained so low. In order to meet this difficulty the Charity Organization Society collected poor relief funds and administered them as a demonstration of the value of the standards they advocated. Its primary purpose, however, still continued to be the correlation of relief work.

Early Efforts to Coördinate Relief Work in America.—In America the struggle to overcome the evils of poverty became prominent enough to attract serious consideration as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century. Various relief societies were formed which for the most part distributed alms with very little effort at discrimination. By 1840 there were over 30 relief societies in New York City working with very little, if any, knowledge of each other's plans. This lack of cooperation led a few years later to the organization of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor which became the dominant charitable society for the next 30 years. While its original purpose was to lay emphasis upon the improvement of social conditions, it soon found it necessary to give relief itself. Most of its predecessors in the field of relief had been organized on a narrow basis designed to aid particular groups or those living in certain restricted areas. This new association made possible an important step toward better coördination by the fact that its organization was broad enough to cover the whole city. Its insistence upon coöperation with other agencies, as well as its advocacy of advanced methods of relief, marked it as the reform movement of its day. Twenty-nine organizations of a similar nature were established in the larger cities of America. But unfortunately the Association was not able to live up to its earlier ideals. The efforts of its leaders to promote coöperation between the

different relief agencies failed and in most cases they adopted the traditional methods of older organizations which were primarily concerned in the distribution of material relief.

This condition of affairs made the time ripe for a new organization. The panic of 1873 and the business depression that followed brought about such heavy demands upon charity that they could not be met. As a result attempts at a better organization for relief were made in several places. The most successful was at Buffalo, where in 1877 Reverend Gurteen, who had formerly been connected with the London Charity Organization Society, led in the establishment of a similar organization. This society followed the example of the London organization in dividing the city into districts, each with its district committee. Its work was to be done through the medium of friendly visitors, as far as possible only one family being assigned to each visitor. The society pledged itself to give no relief funds of its own. Every effort was made to get the existing relief agencies to look upon this new movement simply as an organization of existing charities and not as an effort to destroy their local autonomy. Its chief sphere of work was to be of an investigative nature and when it had found a case needing relief, the appropriate agency was called upon to render the needed assistance.

Similar societies were later organized in other large cities and gradually increased in influence. In some places the old relief organizations were merged into the new charity organization society. In other cases they remained in the field and to a greater or less extent took over from the new organization more modern methods of work. In New York the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor still maintains an independent existence and works in close coöperation with the Charity Organization Society. In Chicago the charity organization society under the name of the Bureau of Associated Charities was established in 1893 and worked along side the older Relief and Aid Society until 1907 when the two organizations were consolidated into the United

Charities. During the early days of the charity organization movement in this country its purpose was frequently misunderstood by the general public and the progress it made was due to the activities of its zealous proponents rather than to popular demand. In some cases strongly entrenched charitable societies bitterly opposed this new effort to coördinate relief work. Nevertheless, the time seemed ripe for such a movement, and its spread from city to city under the guidance of its well-equipped leaders gave it, by the end of the 19th century, an assured place of leadership in the whole field of social work.

Methods of Promoting Coördination of Relief Work.— Among the methods used in promoting coördination of relief work, the social service exchange, charities endorsement, and the case conference stand out with special prominence.

A. The Social Service Exchange. One of the first means employed by the charity organization movement to bring about coöperation was the establishment of a clearing house for all the cases given relief by the various agencies of the community. The Exchange organized by the Associated Charities of Boston in 1879 was a repository for records of families given relief, each agency furnishing the Exchange with a full history of the family. The later development of the Exchange greatly modified this procedure until it was limited to a simple card index containing only the necessary identifying information. The purpose of this device was to make it easily possible for each agency to know whether or not any family coming to its attention had been receiving aid or service from other coöperating agencies. The possession of such information prior to responding to an appeal for relief was of great value in preventing duplication and also often spared the poor from unnecessary investigation.

In recent years the number of social service exchanges in this country has rapidly increased. While they still, for the most part, are directed and financed by the principal private relief giving society of their city, the tendency is for their

management to be taken over by a more widely representative organization such as the Council of Social Agencies or the Chamber of Commerce. The largest Exchange in the United States is the one in Chicago which is used by more than 150 social agencies, and has over 550,000 family names in its files. For years this Registration Bureau in Chicago was maintained by the United Charities, but recently it was taken over as one of the activities of the Council of Social Agencies. In small cities also the Exchange has proved to be of value in promoting coördination. Even when the agencies engaged in relief work are few in number it can by no means be taken for granted that each agency is familiar with what the others are doing. Formal machinery must be set up to make this interchange of information possible, and where such machinery is consistently used, a large step has been taken toward a more unified attempt to give constructive aid to families.

B. Charities Endorsement. Successful coöperation is impracticable between organizations that differ widely in standards of work. In almost every city there are found relief societies that have outlived their usefulness or are too poorly managed to warrant public support. The Charity Organization Society from the very first endeavored to meet this situation through their plan of charities endorsement which placed their seal of approval only upon agencies that approximated certain standards. While this resulted in exposing unworthy charities, much help also was given in bringing about better coördination between agencies whose work overlapped. In solving the problem whether a certain agency should be endorsed, it was a natural procedure to consult with that agency about any part of its program that seemed questionable, and suggest changes needed to make it more efficient and serviceable to the community. In cities where public confidence and support largely depends upon being placed upon an approved list, social agencies are likely to put into effect the improved methods of operation insisted upon by the Endorse-

ment Bureau. In this way efficiency is promoted and duplication of effort on the part of approved agencies is to a large extent carefully safeguarded. In order to meet the objection that one relief agency should not pass judgment upon the work of other similar agencies, the tendency has been for this endorsement work to be taken over by the Chamber of Commerce or the Council of Social Agencies. At the present time most of the large centers of social work have in active operation Endorsement Bureaus which are a potent force both in eliminating fraudulent organizations and in promoting better coöperation.

C. The Case Conference. The machinery of the social service exchange will reveal the names of the agencies interested in any particular family, but there still remains the problem of getting these agencies to combine their resources and agree upon a unified plan of rehabilitation. This desired end is frequently reached by organizing a case conference which meets weekly at a convenient place and is attended by representatives of the different agencies at work in the district or city. At these weekly meetings individual cases are presented for discussion, and a plan is worked out in which all agree to cooperate. The mere meeting together for this purpose is of distinct educational value, and promotes a spirit of understanding and unity that can be gained in no other way. When these case conferences are attended by workers representing character building and health agencies as well as by those primarily interested in case work, their significance extends far beyond the field of relief, and they become a coördinating device of first importance in community work.

Influence of the Charity Organization Movement on the Development of Community Organization.—The Charity Organization Society during the early years of its establishment in this country showed a strong tendency to enlarge its program and engage in many different activities. This enlarged work was frequently a necessity because there were not in existence at that time well-managed agencies in the various

fields of social work with which the Charity Organization Society could coöperate. Then also, a young and vigorous agency tends to enlarge its scope of work not merely through zeal for the cause, but through a natural desire for growth and expansion. In those days this newly organized Society in some places ran employment bureaus, wood yards, special schools, day nurseries, provident funds, and other enterprises of a similar nature. These activities made a far greater popular appeal than did such work as investigation, registration, and coöperation which constituted a fundamental part of the Charity Organization Society program. Consequently the first tendency was toward an enlargement of the field of social work under the centralized leadership of this organization. But as rapidly as these newer activities gained popular support, they were taken over by specialized organizations and run independently. Through this decentralizing movement the number of social agencies gradually increased and brought to the forefront of attention the problems of coördination now being dealt with by the community organization movement.

To the Charity Organization Society must be given the distinction of being one of the first agencies to recognize the necessity for machinery that would enable coöperative efforts to be carried out successfully. As early as 1879 the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity organized an "Assembly" which was made up of representatives of coöperating societies and of members of official boards of the city and county of Philadelphia. This Assembly appointed ten committees dealing with such matters as visitation and women's work, employment, means of promoting provident habits, medical charities, education and care of dependent children, care of defective classes, hygiene and sanitary measures, penal and reformatory institutions, legal protection of the poor, pauperism and vagrancy and their causes.

The far-reaching historical significance of the Philadelphia organization has been pointed out by Watson in these words:

"The monthly meeting of the Assembly, which convened for a number of years, served as an open forum for the discussion of charitable and community problems and exercised a wide influence on the social spirit of the city. Inside views of work of various agencies of the city were given with mutual benefit. Committees were appointed to make special studies of important subjects, some of which resulted in practical reforms. Much stimulus to efforts to improve child welfare work is traceable to these meetings. The Assembly was in short a forerunner of the Central Council of Social Agencies which began to develop throughout the country beginning in 1908."[2]

This trend toward better coördination which has been gaining momentum during the past two decades is no longer limited to the larger cities where its need was first brought to public attention through the work of the charity organization movement. Gradually there has come about a recognition of the existence of a similar need in the small cities and towns whose adherence to outworn methods of relief has long been notorious. In many cases the first efforts in community organization in the small centers of population have grown out of a desire to organize their relief activities in a more adequate manner. This is apparent in the county public welfare movement where attempts to deal with the problem of poverty on a county wide basis have revealed a network of uncoördinated agencies whose hit and miss methods of almsgiving constitute a real bar to progress. In order to deal with such a situation county councils of social agencies have been established and in some cases have become an effective means of promoting a unified attack on social problems. One of the hopeful signs of the time as far as this field of work is concerned is the spread of this desire for organization to the smaller and more isolated communities where progressive movements with difficulty secure public support. The following illustration of the organization of charity in a small southern town is indicative of a changing attitude toward social problems which is finding its first expression in a desire to put relief work on a more efficient basis.

[2] Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States*, p. 192.

In the timber belt of Mississippi is a small town of 1,200 people whose chief means of support is the logging industry. The town itself is to a large extent owned by a lumber company which not only provides employment for the people, but furnishes also public utilities such as water and electric light, and has built the school, church, Y. M. C. A., and a company store. In this isolated community poverty had long been a troublesome problem. Some of the people were shiftless, some were of low mentality, the families were usually large in size, wages of the unskilled laborers were low, and as a result many found themselves in extreme need in times of sickness or unemployment.

The usual method of collecting money for the poor was for a neighbor or friend of the family in need to go through the town asking money. Each person who gave wrote his name on a sheet of paper provided for the purpose and set down opposite his name the amount given. This was known as "taking around a list". Lists came frequently and in no case was there anything like a real investigation of conditions. Any obscure person could put his name on the lips of the community and gain a reputation as one thoughtful of the poor by taking round the list.

In addition to the many appeals for help within the town there were many from without, for the town had won a reputation at large for generosity in meeting appeals. Agents representing various organizations, and some persons of whom nothing could be learned, came asking aid. Not a few of these were found to be frauds, but not until after the town had made its contribution. The tendency to spontaneous almsgiving which characterized the people was closely associated with religious impulses and consequently was strongly entrenched. Nevertheless, a few extreme impositions on the generosity of the town aroused a spirit of skepticism and there was considerable discussion concerning the need of better methods of determining worthy cases. One instance that

helped to bring matters to a head was the attempt to aid a large family temporarily incapacitated by the illness of the mother and the broken arm of the father. The next door neighbor took around the list and secured $40.00 which was turned over to the needy family. To the surprise and indignation of the community the father immediately invested $25.00 of this charity money in a famous coon dog which he had long wanted but had hitherto been unable to buy.

This incident along with other well-known cases of misuse of poor funds made it possible to bring together the people in a large community meeting called for the purpose of organizing a community charity society. At this meeting an organization was effected, which provided a case committee of five representative citizens, each of whom was made responsible for a particular section of the town. It was the duty of the members of this committee to keep in touch with conditions in their jurisdiction, ascertain the facts in any case when aid might be needed, and report to the committee for action. A centralized relief fund was established to which contributions were invited. The response of the people was immediate and an adequate poor fund was made available for disbursement by the case committee. While the people were not familiar with modern case methods, this organization brought some semblance of order out of chaos, and demonstrated to the people the value of developing the machinery needed for effective community action.[3]

To a larger extent than is often realized the experience of this town is typical of the increasing tendency in small communities to develop more efficient methods of organization. Frequently the problem of relief is the first to attract public interest and attention and then the experience gained in trying to deal with this situation is later utilized in organizing the community in a more far-reaching way. Without doubt the charity organization movement, both directly and indi-

[3] From an unpublished manuscript by N. B. Bond.

rectly, in large cities and in small communities has been an outstanding force in the development of community organization.

II. The Social Settlement Movement

Beginnings of the Settlement Movement.—The development of the Charity Organization Society in the latter half of the nineteenth century was paralleled by the establishment of the social settlements, a widely different movement, but concerned also with the problem of relieving the miseries of the poor. Shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century a small group of young men at Oxford and Cambridge, aroused by the teachings of such men as Ruskin and Kingsley, began the experiment of taking lodgings in the poorer quarters of London so as to secure first hand knowledge of the evil conditions they were trying to alleviate. Gradually as the wider implications of this novel plan became apparent, it merged into an experiment in democratic neighborliness in which young men of culture and education sought to aid the poor by living among them as friends and neighbors.

The social settlement movement in its early beginnings was essentially a missionary enterprise. Its first outstanding leader, Reverend Barnett, as vicar of St. Jude's in Whitechapel, one of the poorest parishes in London, repeatedly visited Oxford for the purpose of engaging the interest of the students in his plans to improve the lot of the poor. From time to time students from the University lived as guests in the vicarage and participated in the educational and other activities of the parish. So powerful was the appeal of this work that an organization was formed to raise funds to establish a settlement near St. Jude's, and in 1884 a small group of university men took up residence in improvised quarters which they occupied until Toynbee Hall was completed. The time seemed ripe for a movement of this kind, and within a few years similar social settlements were established in other sections of London.

Almost immediately the social settlement idea spread to America, and led to the establishment by Doctor Stanton Coit in 1887 of the Neighborhood Guild on the lower East Side of New York. Hull House in Chicago, under the leadership of Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, followed in 1889. Three years later Andover House in Boston, now known as South End House, was established by William J. Tucker and Robert A. Woods. It is significant that these American pioneers in the social settlement movement had been visitors at Toynbee Hall where they gained first hand knowledge of the aims and methods of the English settlement leaders. An important factor in the success of this new movement in America was the high type of leaders attracted into its service. The founders of the early settlements were people of unusual ability and personality who were able to carve out new lines of work and secure the needed public support. As in England, the religious motive occupied a prominent place in this movement. The social interpretation of Christianity was just coming to the front, and the churches as yet offered few opportunities for the practical expression of the new social spirit. The social settlements, therefore, drew into their service the finer spirits of that time, who were dominated by the religious motive, although they may not have been in full sympathy with current ecclesiastical methods.

During the nineties interest in the social settlements spread rapidly and found expression in the establishment of such well-known institutions as Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago Commons, University of Chicago Settlement, Henry Street Settlement, and Kingsley House. Beginning in a small way these and other important settlements made secure places for themselves in the cities in which they were located and became notable forerunners of the large number of social settlements that have been established during the first two decades of the present century.

The Philosophy of the Movement.—One of the outstanding features of the settlement movement as contrasted with the

charity organization movement, is its direct concern with the people themselves rather than with the various agencies that are working in their behalf. By drawing the people together in a neighborhood center and giving them opportunity for wholesome social intercourse, the social settlement strives to build up community solidarity. When the purpose of the settlement is stated in this manner it appears very similar to the modern community center movement. The social settlement movement, however, possesses distinctive features of its own that have been colored by its early beginnings in the congested slums of the large cities. Its early founders conceived their mission to be the alleviation of the sufferings of the poor. Their method of accomplishing this purpose was to take up residence in the poorer quarters of the city where they could share with the disadvantaged their heritage of culture and education. The very nature of the movement made it a contribution of the rich to the poor. The initiative for the organization of the settlement as well as its financial support came from outside the neighborhood in which it was located. This tinge of paternalism in its origin, however, was never permitted to dominate its neighborhood policy and program. The goal that has been consistently sought by the early founders of the settlement is the achievement of social democracy. The settlement residents always considered themselves an integral part of the neighborhood in which they lived. Their neighbors were regarded as social equals and their friendship was cultivated as well as their counsel sought in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the neighborhood.

During a period when public opinion freely sanctioned the giving out of doles in a vain effort to aid the poor, the social settlement workers tried to get at the problem by placing themselves in a position where their service could be rendered as neighbors and not as outsiders. The necessity of financial assistance to those in need of food and shelter was freely recognized, but responsibility for work of this kind was turned over to the organizations engaged in relief. The social settle-

ment made its contribution as a friendly neighbor by opening its doors to the people of its neighborhood irrespective of their social or financial status, lending a willing ear to the story of their misfortunes and injustices, and through counsel and example endeavoring to build up sound ideals of personal character and community progress. The distinctive feature of this service which explains the vitality and success of the settlement movement was the continued emphasis upon the mutual advantage of this intimate contact of the rich and the poor. It was this that saved it from becoming an "uplift movement". The disadvantaged had their part to play in building up a better society. The social settlements never accepted the traditional idea that leadership was a divine right of the upper classes. At a time when such an idea was widely prevalent, the social settlements set themselves firmly against attitudes of condescension in their relations with the poor, and sought to break down the undemocratic cleavage between social classes.

The Work of the Settlements.—From the beginning of the settlement movement, its founders and leaders have held before them the task of social investigation as a necessary preliminary to plans for social betterment. Much of the first authentic information concerning the congested life of the large cities has been made available through the painstaking and first hand studies carried on by settlement residents. The South End House Studies of Boston and the Hull House "Maps and Papers" are notable examples of this important contribution to our knowledge of social and industrial conditions. The standing and prestige of the settlements have in no small measure been due to the skill and ability shown by their residents in interpreting the life of the people among whom they lived.

But perhaps of even wider significance is the constructive efforts for neighborhood improvement of which the settlement has been the guiding spirit. In the development of these neighborhood activities no rigid policy or standardized

routine has been followed. The idea has been that the program should grow out of the felt needs of the people in their efforts to find a solution of their problems. The nature of the program, therefore, might vary in different settlements depending upon the needs of the community and the attitudes of the people toward community affairs.

In general the activities of settlements have been sufficiently broad and inclusive to cover the most important phases of community life. The fields of education, recreation, law enforcement, civic progress, industrial welfare and municipal government have been profoundly affected by settlement programs. Such activities as night classes for adults, vocational training, clubs of various kinds, supervised play and recreation, forums for the discussion of industrial problems, and neighborhood meetings designed to promote sound public policy have made the social settlements centers of influence that could not be disregarded. During the early years of the settlements, the pioneer and experimental work needed in order to demonstrate the value of such progressive measures as adult education, public health nursing, supervised playgrounds, and branch libraries found a congenial home in the settlement house, and active proponents among its residents. The success of the settlement movement is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the fact that its early experimental activities have one by one proven their worth and have been taken over by public and private agencies. While this loss of some of their earlier functions has modified the nature of their work, the settlements still find their leadership needed in bringing about a more wholesome neighborhood life in the congested districts in which they are usually located.

Its Contribution to Community Organization.—The social settlement has been the agency through which the community movement first expressed itself. The first community workers were enrolled largely from the residents in the settlements. Those interested in playgrounds, night classes, vocational

education, library extension, work for immigrants, etc., found the settlement the natural center for their activities. The leadership of the settlement movement in the improvement of social conditions is unquestioned. Without doubt the modern emphasis upon community organization can quite largely be regarded as a logical outgrowth of the efforts of the settlements to direct attention to the value of the neighborhood as a social unit.

While the settlement is concerned primarily with people rather than with agencies, and therefore must be classified as a direct form of community organization, its emphasis upon democracy has necessarily been limited by the fact that it is after all a philanthropic agency supported largely by contributions received outside the immediate neighborhood it serves. Ordinarily the nature of its financial support and the fact that it owes its establishment and its leadership to persons who had not previously belonged to the neighborhood, would make it distinctively a paternalistic enterprise. But as it has previously been pointed out, these difficulties are to a large degree incidental, and do not color its daily activities. The settlement motive has essentially been democratic and its leaders in spite of this apparent handicap of philanthropic origin have built up an institution that in a very real sense belongs to the people, and is readily responsive to their needs.

In general, the settlement makes no formal effort to organize the neighborhood in which it is located. Clubs and classes are formed and steps may be taken to aid in the establishment of agencies that are needed. In so far as the settlement becomes a unifying influence, it accomplishes this largely by serving as a common center where all interested in neighborhood problems can meet and work. The different settlements in a large city, however, have found it profitable to organize themselves into a federation that would be capable of looking after their wider interests. These city federations of settlements have had great power with city

governments, and have been especially influential in securing the establishment of municipal playgrounds, in law enforcement, and in housing investigations. They have also been useful in building up standards of work within the settlements and in eliminating duplication and competition. By providing for an interchange of membership lists and by working out neighborhood boundaries much friction has been avoided. Another activity of such a federation is to employ a director of dramatics or other specialist which no one settlement could afford on full time, and then arrange for the different settlements to share his services.

It is thus apparent that the social settlement through its local neighborhood work and its city wide federation is illustrative of two different types of community organization. But its real contribution has been in the settlement idea, and in the stimulus it has given to community work rather than in the development of any formal method of organization.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Describe the methods adopted by the Charity Organization Society to coördinate relief work.
2. What part did the Charity Organization Society take in the organization of specialized social work agencies in this country?
3. Why were the family case workers the first leaders in the movement to correlate the social agencies of a community?
4. Are there any fundamental similarities in the fields of case work and community organization?
5. Should the building up of a standard case work agency precede efforts to promote community organization?
6. What forces enter into the development of the social settlement movement? Contrast its methods of work with those of the Charity Organization Society.
7. From the point of view of the social settlement what is included in community work?

8. How has the social settlement movement been an active factor in the promotion of community organization

9. Contrast the widely different conceptions of community organization held by the settlement workers and the case workers.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION MOVEMENT

Rise of the Playground Movement.—Recreation as a distinct problem in which the community has a vital interest and responsibility is an outgrowth of the twentieth century. In the last two decades of the previous century some significant first steps were taken in this direction, but all stopped short of securing wide popular support. One of the landmarks of the play movement, which probably represents its real beginning in America, was the establishment of children's sand gardens in Boston in 1886. The inadequate conception of the recreation problem held at that time is indicated by the fact that this early experiment in playground development was limited to small children of the kindergarten age. The Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association, under whose auspices these first playgrounds were built, became one of the first champions of the new movement to provide public facilities for recreation. The schoolyard playgrounds built and supervised by this Association undoubtedly paved the way for further developments in the field of recreation both in Boston and in other large cities. When the park department of Boston built the Charlesbank Outdoor Gymnasium in 1889, the first of its kind in America, the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association coöperated with the public authorities by furnishing the supervision. The decision of the school authorities of Boston in 1901 to make recreation an integral part of their educational system came about largely through the efforts of this same Association which for more than a decade

had made a convincing demonstration of the value of supervised play.[1]

As early as 1888 there was sufficient interest in recreation in New York to make possible the passage of a bill by the state legislature providing for the incorporation of societies for developing parks and playgrounds for the children in the cities, towns, and villages of the state. Brooklyn immediately took advantage of this act by organizing the Brooklyn Society for Parks and Playgrounds, which established and conducted a few small playgrounds in that city. The New York Society for Parks and Playgrounds was incorporated in 1890 with prominent men of the city as charter members. The opening of their first playgrounds aroused considerable enthusiasm, but public interest soon declined and consequently little was accomplished. In 1897 the Mayor's committee on small parks reported that there was not a single municipal playground in the city and no school playgrounds worthy of the name. The next few years, however, witnessed a rapid change of sentiment in favor of the play movement. Through the efforts of the Outdoor Recreation League an experimental playground was conducted in Seward Park as a demonstration to the Park Commission of the need of a playground in that locality. The experiment succeeded, and the Park Commission, in response to popular demand, revised their original plans which had contemplated the development of the park along horticultural lines, and equipped it for recreational purposes. Other playgrounds followed, and the play movement in New York during the first few years of the new century began to go forward by rapid strides.

The first playgrounds in Chicago were built and operated by the social settlements during the nineties. Through these and other experiments in this field a popular demand arose for better recreational facilities which bore fruit in 1900 with the

[1] Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States,* has been freely used in the preparation of this chapter. Students especially interested in this phase of community organization should consult this book which is the most authoritative statement yet made of the development and organization of recreation in America.

establishment of Chicago's first municipal playgrounds. In Philadelphia, St. Louis, Washington, and other large cities, the playground movement had a similar development. Practically everywhere the movement originated with private associations which gradually were able to secure at least a small measure of municipal support. In the beginning emphasis was almost entirely upon the need of playgrounds equipped for the use of small children. The widening of the scope of the play movement to include the need of play facilities for older children and adults strengthened its popular appeal and created the wide public interest necessary to enable it to survive the early years of its development.

Development of Recreation as a Municipal Function.—From the very start of the playground movement, its leaders recognized the necessity of developing public opinion that would demand the acceptance of provision for recreation as a proper municipal function. The early private experiments in playgrounds were so pathetically inadequate in view of the total territory to be covered, that public coöperation was sought in whatever way it could be secured. Public school authorities were urged to make available the use of schoolyards for play purposes outside of school hours. Pressure was brought to bear upon the city park commissions to turn their ornamental parks into well-equipped playgrounds. The traditional ideas concerning play, which were so deeply rooted in the minds of the mass of the people, made inevitable a slow response to this new movement. It was not until 1900 that public authorities began to manifest much interest in the solution of the recreation problem. Even then this interest was apparently confined to a few large cities, and the expenditure of public funds for this purpose was small in amount. In 1906 those interested in spreading the idea of municipal responsibility for public recreation established the Playground Association of America, an organization that has been the outstanding promotive force of the play movement during the past two decades. At the time of its organization,

41 cities had established public recreation in one form or another. Three years later the number of cities that had established playgrounds had increased to 73. By the year 1913, 342 cities reported public recreation leadership. Eleven years later this number had more than doubled, and the annual expenditures of cities for public recreation amounted to $20,000,000.

Among the cities that have led the way in the municipalization of recreation, Chicago stands out as a notable example. The movement got under way officially in that city with the appointment by the mayor of a Special Park Commission in 1894, which not only established during the next few years playgrounds in congested portions of the city, but carefully studied the whole situation and made recommendations to the three park boards concerning their responsibility for constructing additional playgrounds. Special legislation was secured in 1903 removing the restrictions to the proper development of the city's park system. That same year the voters of the South Park District approved a $5,000,000 bond issue to finance the establishment of additional parks in that part of the city. The Park Commissioners, convinced that the traditional type of park no longer met the needs of the people, inaugurated a new policy of turning small parks into recreation centers equipped with well-constructed field houses and facilities for both outdoor and indoor play. In the summer of 1905 10 elaborately equipped parks of this playground type were opened to the public. Later this number was increased to 14, each covering an area of from 10 to 60 acres, and provided with field houses, containing usually an assembly hall, gymnasium, swimming pool, club rooms, and a branch of the public library. These public facilities for recreation proved so popular that the example set by the South Park Commission was followed by the two park boards operating in the west and north portions of the city, thus establishing a network of playgrounds widely distributed and all supported by public funds.

In the other large cities a similar development took place which has gradually spread to many of the smaller population centers. Rapid progress has been made in this direction especially since the World War, and yet in spite of this growth of public recreation, the Playground and Recreation Association of America estimated in 1924 that there were more than 400 cities of 8,000 population or above still unprovided with a single playground. In some cases the difficulty has been the lack of enabling legislation authorizing expenditure of municipal funds for recreation and the levying of special taxes for that purpose. The present trend toward the municipalization of recreation is indicated by the fact that during the year 1923 recreation activities in 50 cities which had been carried on under private auspices were transferred to municipal control and support. The President's National Conference on Outdoor Recreation held in Washington in 1924 officially endorsed this movement by urging all communities to regard it as their duty to provide adequate space and facilities for play and recreation under suitable leadership.

Organization of Recreation on a Neighborhood Basis.—Along with this continued emphasis upon city wide provision and control of recreational facilities, there has developed a tendency of a quite opposite nature to make the neighborhood the proper unit of work in meeting the recreational needs of the people. This revival of interest in the local neighborhood can be traced largely to the influence of the social settlements. The paper read before the American Sociological Society in 1913 by Robert A. Woods, of South End House, Boston, on the subject "The Neighborhood in Social Reconstruction", set forth in an admirable manner the philosophy that grew out of the experiences of the settlement workers. E. J. Ward in his book, *The Social Center,* published that same year, advocated in a similar manner the necessity of local self-government in the use of public recreational facilities. It was quite apparent that the neighborhood attitude and feelings

characteristic of more simple social situations were being lost in the anonymity and impersonal relations of congested city life. To both social theorists and to practical community workers this situation called for a renewal of interest in the neighborhood. Those at work in the field of recreation were especially quick to see the advantages of organizing leisure time activities on a neighborhood basis. Through the use of public funds, magnificent plants for recreational purposes were available in many places. What was further needed to bring to full fruition this wide interest in playground development was a form of administration that would give proper recognition to local plans and needs and cultivate a feeling of responsibility through the active participation of the local people in the control of their play activities.

The leaders in the South Park System in Chicago were among the first to develop a neighborhood organization that was designed not to displace, but to supplement the city's control of the playgrounds. This local organization sometimes took the form of a community council made up of representatives of existing local societies. In other cases all in the community served by the park were eligible to membership in the organization. Committees were appointed on membership, program, civics, athletics, music, dramatics, etc., which were held responsible for the particular duties assigned them. This neighborhood organization was closely correlated both with the departments of the city government and with local agencies and institutions. The director of the park or playground who was a public official responsible to the South Park Commissioners usually served as chairman of the Board of Directors. In the determination of fundamental policies the park officials were the final authority. In some cases this worked a hardship on the neighborhood association, as, for example, the regulation forbidding the groups using the park to charge admission fees or solicit funds for the support of their enterprises. However, in so far as possible, the principle of local autonomy was emphasized and the

people were made to feel that the proper development and utilization of their recreation center was their own responsibility. One of the chief difficulties faced by this scheme of neighborhood organization was the fact that these parks served large districts of the city and were never intended to be local neighborhood centers. The districts often had no geographical unity or homogeneity of population which increased the difficulty of regarding the district as an enlarged neighborhood. Nevertheless, in spite of these handicaps, the playgrounds were a common bond of interest and did form some justification for utilizing the district as a unit for neighborhood organization.

The social center movement in connection with the wider use of the school plants is also an outgrowth of this philosophy of community organization that emphasized the importance of local neighborhoods. This movement, which is discussed elsewhere, had at least the advantage of utilizing as its neighborhood center an institution which served a limited and well-known district, even though its boundaries were usually determined arbitrarily. This plan of organizing the neighborhood in connection with either the park, playground, or the school made remarkable strides preceding the war and represented the chief contribution of the recreation movement to community organization during that period.

Recreation in War Camp Communities.—Shortly after America's entrance into the World War, the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities asked the Playground and Recreation Association of America "to be responsible for the stimulating and aiding of communities in the neighborhood of training camps to develop and organize their social and recreational resources in such a way as to be of the greatest possible value to the officers and soldiers in the camps". In response to this request War Camp Community Service was established as the official agency in charge of the recreational activities of the towns and cities that were easily accessible to the soldiers and sailors during their leisure hours.

Since its leaders were those who had been most prominent in the national playground movement, the new organization had from the beginning the advantage of expert direction. The task faced by its organizers was very similar to the work they had been carrying on for years.

The fact that many of these training camps were located near towns and small cities that had never developed recreational facilities adequate even for normal times produced a serious situation that was usually beyond the power of the local communities to handle satisfactorily. The lack of both funds and trained recreational leaders was a handicap that could be overcome only by a nation wide organization capable of supplementing and directing the local resources. In order to meet this situation War Camp Community Service built up an extensive administrative plan that called for a division of the country into eight districts and an organization of the different phases of its work into nine departments. Work in each camp community was begun by requesting the formation of a local executive committee, comprising representatives of the existing social, civic, religious, educational, and other agencies. Local budgets were prepared in accord with estimated needs and the funds that could not be supplied locally were provided by the national organization. Trained leadership was insisted upon and in order to carry out this policy hundreds of playground workers were called into the service of the national organization and assigned to work in the camp communities.

From the beginning it was recognized that a large part of the duties of War Camp Community Service would be to correlate the various efforts that all kinds of agencies were making under the stimulus of the war spirit to provide recreation for the soldiers during their leisure hours away from camp. Among the agencies interested in the recreational problems of the soldiers that were brought into local War Camp councils were the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, American Red Cross, Knights of Col-

umbus, Jewish Welfare Board, Salvation Army, Rotary and other similar clubs, Chambers of Commerce, women's clubs, Travelers' Aid Society, National League of Women's Service, Boy Scouts, Council of National Defence, schools, churches, labor unions, and governmental departments. The mere enumeration of this formidable list of agencies and institutions indicates the extent of the problem of community organization that devolved upon those in charge of War Camp Community Service. It was in fact the first outstanding effort on a large scale to give unity to the various recreational programs which had grown at such a rapid rate during the years immediately preceding the war. In 600 communities in the United States and its possessions War Camp councils were established. The availability of adequate funds and trained leaders together with the coöperative spirit growing out of the war created an uniquely favorable opportunity for an experiment in promoting and organizing recreational resources of these communities. The extraordinary success that attended this wartime experiment gave a strong impetus to the play movement especially as it concerned the recreation of adults. Of even greater significance was the convincing demonstration of what can be accomplished when all the forces of a community are effectively organized in support of a common purpose.

Recreation as a Community Problem.—The remarkable results achieved in war camp communities through coöperative voluntary efforts in promoting recreation brought about the conviction that this approach to the recreation problem should be more widely utilized than had been possible during the war period. Out of this war experience there arose a new conception of recreation as a unifying element that would bring together all the forces of a community. Whereas in the past the goal had been to develop recreation to the point where it would be come a necessary function of the local government, it was now seen more clearly that the recreation movement

could not come to its full fruition until the various groups of the community accepted their full share of responsibility for making recreation a vital part of the life of the people. Undoubtedly the work of War Camp Community Service gave a powerful stimulus to the idea that recreation should be promoted by volunteer community efforts. Many felt at the close of the war that the Playground and Recreation Association of America which had been chiefly interested in the development of municipal playgrounds could not adequately conserve the values that had grown out of the war experience. Accordingly Community Service (Incorporated) was organized in 1919 with a fund of $2,000,000 available for launching its program. This new organization established its national headquarters in the offices of the Playground and Recreation Association and was directed by the executive officers of this latter Association. The purpose of this new organization and its methods of work are clearly set forth in the following statement taken from one of its bulletins:

"In laying the plans and purposes of Community Service before the groups which are interested in starting the work, it should be explained that the purpose of Community Service is to bring together all groups and interests under a unified program which will mean the strengthening of all local agencies contributing to the leisure time needs of the people, the supplementing of existing facilities and the creating of needed new ones in order that all may have equal opportunity for self-expression and for sharing in a broad community life. It should be made clear that the national organization, Community Service, does not administer leisure time activities but gives help, upon request from the community, in establishing a local Community Service which is autonomous, self-determining and absolutely self-governing; that it desires to strengthen the leisure time work of all religious organizations, whether they be Protestant, Catholic or Hebrew, and that it seeks to promote a program which will meet the needs of children and adults and all community groups. Community Service undertakes work in a community only at the definite invitation of some community group. This should preferably be a group of private individuals representing various community interests. In some instances the group extending the invitation may

be an existing local organization but in general it is desirable to have the invitation come from more than one group and to represent as many community interests as possible. The source of the invitation must depend upon local conditions.

"The invitation should give assurance of a real need and desire and of sufficient financial support for the local work to make possible real service. The group extending the invitation pledges itself to stand back of the work, to provide office space for the community organizer and to assume a large degree of responsibility in the subsequent raising of funds. It has been found that such temporary groups have in many instances been willing to meet the expenses connected with any demonstration period which may be necessary.

"If the invitation extended by the local group is accepted by national headquarters, a community organizer is sent for a brief period to assist the local people in organizing and initiating the work. In coöperation with the initiating group he makes a brief study of the situation to determine existing conditions and needs; assists in formulating the program and in planning the budget, and, if necessary, demonstrates with the help of specialists whom national headquarters may under some circumstances send to the community the possibilities which lie in a community-wide leisure time program. It is suggested, however, that the demonstration period be made as short as possible and that the community organizer, by personal interviews, by 'selling from a prospectus' and by showing motion picture films of leisure time activities, eliminate wherever feasible the need for demonstration activities.

"It is understood that nothing but personal service is furnished by national headquarters and that it is not possible for national headquarters to finance any local activities during the demonstration period. Usually the community itself will provide small sums of money to meet the expenses connected with the demonstration activities.

"Where there is a strong desire on the part of the community that the Community Service organizer initiating the work shall remain for a longer period, national headquarters will make every possible effort to grant a leave of absence, thus setting the worker free to serve upon the local payroll in helping to build a permanent foundation for the local Community Service program.

"It is not intended, however, that Community Service workers shall be released permanently to local communities and a community committee is, of course, free to employ any person it may desire as its permanent secretary. When a community wishes to retain the community organizer who has done the initial work, his leave of absence to the local community should be for a period of not more than from three to six months. During this time every effort should be made to secure

and train another organizer for the local work so that the ranks of the national organization will not be depleted."[2]

This new organization, well-supported financially and in charge of capable leaders, instituted a campaign of promotion more extensive than had previously been undertaken in the field of recreation. Its field workers, or community organizers as they were designated, were able to establish local community service associations in many cities that had hitherto paid little attention to recreational needs. While the national organization was the promotive force, every effort was made to develop the local community service as a self directing and self supporting movement. Its special significance in the field of community organization lies in the fact of its emphasis on the organization of the entire community as a means of securing wide and permanent support of its community program. Great care was taken to have the local executive committee representative of all the interests and classes in the community. At first the plan was followed of asking representatives of different agencies to serve upon this committee. This was done perhaps with a view of facilitating the correlation of the varied recreational activities of the community. Later this method of organization was abandoned and the directing body was chosen because of qualities of leadership and not because of affiliation with other agencies.

After approximately three years of activity Community Service (Incorporated) was discontinued as a separate organization and became a department of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. This change in administration is of special significance for it points to a decreasing emphasis on the promotion of recreation activities supported by voluntary organizations. The present trend in the organization of recreation is strongly in the direction of a municipal recreation program supported by taxation. Many communities that initiated their recreation work under the direction of Community Service are now doing all that they

[2] Community Service (Incorporated), Bulletin No. 368, pp. 6-7.

can to secure municipal support. Nevertheless, the remarkable results achieved by Community Service during the years immediately following the war have proven a powerful stimulus to the whole recreation movement and have given it much wider popular support than it could otherwise have gained.

Contribution of the Playground and Recreation Movement to Community Organization.—In the early stages of the recreation movement the entire emphasis was necessarily upon the development of public opinion favorable to the building of playgrounds and provision for supervised recreation. During this promotive period, the inadequacy of play facilities was so painfully apparent that little attention was given to the problem growing out of the unrelated efforts to meet recreational needs. It was natural, therefore, that community organization as fostered by recreation leaders should take the form of organizing as far as possible the entire community in the interests of leisure time activities. Community organization from their point of view was effected when the whole community stood solidly behind a comprehensive and adequate recreation program. The community organizers who served on the staff of Community Service (Incorporated) were interested in organizing the community only in so far as their recreational interests made this necessary. The Neighborhood Associations and Community Councils established at the parks and playgrounds endeavored to accomplish a similar purpose.

This conception of community organization included necessarily the coördination of the various unrelated efforts in the field of recreation. The multiplicity of agencies interested in different phases of recreation constituted a serious problem with which the Playground and Recreation movement had to deal before the community could make a united attack on its recreation problem. The local Community Service associations established after the war undertook this task of coördination. The Community Service leaders, however, were inter-

ested in promotion as well as in correlation of play activities and always endeavored to supply the community with forms of recreation that had been neglected. This combination of administrative and coördinating functions is in strong contrast to the policy of the older type of councils of social agencies which held that administrative responsibilities interfered with the work of coördination.

From this analysis it is clear that the recreation leaders developed a conception of community organization limited in scope, since recreation is after all only one phase of community life. Their cue seems to have been taken from the Charity Organization Society which, in its early years at least, limited its organizing activities to the field of relief. The recreation movement apparently was concerned with the promotion of its own program rather than with the wider interests of the community itself. The more inclusive conception of community organization, advocated especially by the rural sociologists, never seems to have exerted an appreciable influence upon the policies of the recreation movement.

Another characteristic of the playground and recreation movement in its work of community organization is its reliance upon popular methods of appeal to the public. It has essentially been a mass movement in which the devices of crowd psychology have had great prominence. *The Playground,* the official organ of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, is a "success" type of magazine obviously intended to secure public support of its recreation program. While some of the writings of recreation leaders have shown real insight into community problems, the contribution of the playground movement to the field of community organization has hardly been in keeping with its many significant experiments in widely different communities.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. How do you account for the rapid spread of interest in the playground movement during the latter part of last century?
2. What are some of the outstanding difficulties encountered in the establishment of playground and recreational facilities?
3. Describe the organization and methods of operation of the South Park Playgrounds in Chicago.
4. Discuss the problem of municipal versus private support of recreation activities.
5. What was the chief contribution of War Camp Community Service to the problem of community recreation?
6. Outline the program of Community Service (Incorporated) and critically evaluate the methods used.
7. What conception of community organization has been emphasized by the leaders in the playground movement?
8. What factors have made it difficult to bring about a close correlation of recreational and other social service agencies?
9. Trace the growth of interest in recreation in any community with which you are familiar and show how the problem of correlation has been met.

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CHAPTER IX

THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY CENTER MOVEMENT

History of the Movement.—The wider use of the school plant had its beginnings in the efforts of the pioneer recreation leaders to equip school playgrounds for use outside of school hours. This departure from the traditional function of the public school was a radical one and by no means found wide acceptance among the school authorities. According to popular opinion, the school was only to be used for the formal instruction of the young and consequently when the day's routine was finished, the buildings were supposed to be locked and the grounds deserted.

The success of the school playgrounds in a few of the large cities paved the way for the establishment of evening recreation centers in a few of the schools of New York City in 1901. This experiment, which was at first carried out on a small scale, gave the people in the neighborhood access to the school buildings during a few hours each evening where they could read, play games, and find suitable rooms for club meetings, all under proper supervision. The following year in Boston two public schools established evening educational centers with classes for adults in different subjects, reading rooms, and facilities for physical training. These centers soon increased to five in number and were widely used until 1906 when they were discontinued. The refusal of the Chicago School Board in 1900 to open its schools for recreational purposes led to the development under the direction of the park boards of municipal playgrounds equipped with elaborate field houses and built at great expense to the city.

While these and a few other similar efforts had been made

in the wider use of school buildings, the real beginning of the movement to make the school a community center is usually found in the Rochester experiment inaugurated in 1907. Early that year representatives from eleven organizations in the city came together and organized a school extension committee which secured from the city council an appropriation of $5000 to be expended by the Board of Education in developing social and recreational facilities in the public schools. Edward J. Ward, a minister with experience in recreational work, was employed to have charge of this new experiment. At the first neighborhood meeting in the school selected for the initiation of this work, emphasis was laid on the importance of the school as a public forum where the citizens of the neighborhood could discuss civic questions with absolute freedom. An organization was formed for this purpose and at its first weekly meeting the Alderman of the ward in which the school was located spoke on the duties of an alderman. At the following meeting the man who was drafting the city charter was the invited speaker. This movement for public discussion attracted wide attention throughout the city and the citizens in other school districts arranged for the establishment of similar open forums in their school buildings. By the end of the year twelve school buildings in that city were being used for this purpose.

The social and recreational aspect of the school extension program proved even more popular and developed as rapidly as funds permitted. Ward's idea was that the school center should become the natural meeting place for all the people of the community, where they could find opportunity to satisfy their social, recreational, and cultural needs. The school gymnasium was thrown open to adults on certain evenings of the week; game rooms were equipped and placed under the direction of play leaders; motion pictures were shown; reading rooms were established. clubs of various kinds were organized and provided with suitable rooms for their meetings. From the beginning every effort was made to keep

the movement on a democratic basis. The people themselves were asked to plan their own program of activities and were held responsible for the results secured. The movement grew in popular favor and within three years the annual appropriation had increased to $20,000 and eighteen public schools were being used as social centers.

The discussion of public questions by the civic clubs in each school center, which was one of the important aspects of the new movement, aroused the opposition of certain vested interests in the city and led finally to a serious curtailment of the annual appropriation. In March, 1911, the centers were closed because of lack of funds but were opened again the following year and continued to operate although in a somewhat modified form.

In 1910 the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin established a Bureau of Civic and Social Center Development and appointed E. J. Ward to have charge of this new work. The organization of school social centers in that State was facilitated by the enactment of a state law providing for the free use of school buildings for public forums and giving the school boards authority to permit school buildings to be used for recreational and wider educational activities.

Interest in this new movement increased rapidly and in October, 1911, a three-day national conference upon civic and social center development was held at Madison under the auspices of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin. How widespread this movement had become by that time is indicated by the fact that the conference was attended by delegates representing all sections of the country. This same year the National Education Association at its meeting in San Francisco gave its approval to the school social center in the following words:

"The school buildings of our land and the ground surrounding them should be open to the pupils and to their parents and families as recreation centers outside of the regular school hours. They should become

the radiating centers of cultural and social activity in the neighborhood in a spirit of civic unity and coöperation, omitting, however, all activities and exercises tending to promote division and discord. They should give opportunity for continuation schools, vocational schools, and for industrial, horticultural, and agricultural training, as well as for the education of adults through lectures and through school and college extension classes. . . . This wider use of the school plant should be controlled exclusively by the school authorities.''[1]

At the meeting of this Association in Chicago the following year five papers were presented on the topic, ''The Relation of the Public Schools to the Movement for Recreational, Social, and Civic Opportunity''. Recreation was the subject with which the papers were chiefly concerned and it was specially urged that the school accept administrative responsibility for the recreational interests of the entire community. Sporadic papers dealing with social centers appeared on the annual programs of the National Education Association until 1918 when a Department of the Wider Use of School Houses was established which arranged its own special program. The guiding spirit of this new department was Raymond F. Crist of the Naturalization Bureau in Washington, whose interests led him to emphasize the possibility of the wider use of the school plant in promoting the work of Americanization. During the war period, the growing interest of the National Education Association in the community center movement was still further shown by the appointment of a committee known as the ''Coördinating Committee on the Development of Community Centers''. The programs prepared under the auspices of this committee were given in connection with the annual meetings of the Department of Superintendence and were largely attended by the prominent leaders in the National Community Center Association. The Department of the Wider Use of School Houses was abolished at the 1924 meeting of the National Education Association and in its place there was organized a Committee on Community Relations, which will meet annually with the Department of Superin-

[1] *Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1912, p. 32.

tendence since the problems it will discuss will be of chief interest to administrative officials.

Entirely apart from this promotion of the school community center movement under the auspices of the National Education Association, there has grown up an organization now known as the National Community Center Association which during the past decade has been the guiding force in this field. Its origin dates back to a National Conference on Community Centers held in New York in 1916 under the leadership of John Collier. Since that date, annual meetings of this group of community center workers have been held regularly and beginning with 1917 an official organ, *The Community Center,* has been published.[2]

Administration of the School Community Center.—In the beginning of the school community center movement, its leaders believed that this wider use of the school plant would be made possible by the appropriation of public funds. It was to be a publicly supported movement justified on the ground that the school and its equipment belonged to the people and therefore should be available outside of regular school hours for the use of the entire community. The plan in general met with popular favor but the school authorities in most cases were slow to make appropriations for this purpose. In some cities the school board would not permit public funds to be used for the support of school centers. During the early years of the movement many seriously doubted the propriety of using the school buildings even for community meetings.

Because of these difficulties the school community center movement in many places grew entirely out of voluntary initiative and support. Sometimes a school center was sponsored by a local playground association which would secure permission to use the school building and grounds for recrea-

[2] The publication of *The Community Center* was discontinued with the issue of December, 1924. The Community and Neighborhood Department of *The Journal of Social Forces* is now serving as the official organ of the National Community Center Association.

tional purposes and would employ a supervisor to have charge of this work. In Louisville, Kentucky, the board of education refused to make an appropriation for community centers but gave their consent to the use of the school buildings. A community center association was then launched by interested citizens who elected their own board of managers. Each center chose its own director who usually served as a volunteer. Funds to meet the necessary incidental expenses were furnished by the Woman's Club and other contributors.

In cities where the school board is more favorably inclined toward the school center, it has sometimes been found possible to organize a citizens' committee on which the school interests are represented by the president of the school board and the superintendent of schools. The extension activities of the schools are directed by this voluntary committee and the funds for the support of this work may come partly from private sources and partly from public funds. This administrative plan is a step toward official control and may be the most practicable method of developing the interest of the public authorities in this movement.[3]

Still another plan of administration most suitable perhaps for the large cities involves the creation of a department of recreation maintained jointly by the park commissioners and the school board. This plan would seem best adapted to those cities where the park system maintains playgrounds and other recreational facilities which need to be coördinated with the school community center program. Under this coöperative arrangement the school board might supply funds for the maintenance of the school extension activities and the park commissioners assume responsibility for all matters that would naturally fall within their province, but the entire recreation program would be under the direct management of the supervisor of the department of municipal recreation. A plan of this kind, while not easy to initiate, has the advantage of

[3] For a summary of methods of administration see Perry, *Extension of Public Education*, U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 28, 1915.

simplifying the troublesome problem of coördination of the recreational activities of the city.

A final administrative plan is where the management is vested entirely in the school board, which accepts full responsibility for the administration and financial support of the school centers. Sometimes the school board appoints a director of evening schools who is also given charge of the other phases of the extension work. In other places there is a director of social centers who is a specialist in this field and gives full time to the promotion and management of social center activities.

Throughout the history of this movement, progress in the direction of official control has often been interfered with because of legal or statutory difficulties. Prior to 1915 more than a score of states had found it necessary to pass state laws bearing upon the status and support of school community centers. The Wisconsin law passed in 1910 represents one of the first important legislative efforts in this field. This law with its later amendments gives authority to cities of the first, second or third class to submit the question of municipal recreation to its citizens at any general election. If the vote results favorably, the local school board may request the common council to levy a special tax, not to exceed four mills, on all taxable property, the fund thus secured to be used in maintaining in school buildings and on school grounds, evening schools, vacation schools, social centers, playgrounds and similar activities. The administration of this fund is placed entirely in the hands of the school board. Under the provisions of this law Milwaukee has been able to build up a system of publicly supported school community centers which during more than a decade have demonstrated the value of school extension activities in the field of education as well as in that of recreation.[4]

The wide differences in the methods of organization and

[4] Enderis, "Milwaukee Recreation System," *National Conference Social Work*, 1921, p. 346.

administration of school centers must be explained largely by the varying nature of the statutory enactments governing the operation and support of the public schools. In many cases practical necessity rather than deliberate choice determines the methods followed in bringing about a wider use of the school plant. The lack of suitable legislation in many states still constitutes a formidable barrier preventing the consistent growth of this movement. An adequate law, according to one of the authorities in this field, would contain the following measures:[5] (1) Authorizing the local school directors or boards of education to establish, equip, and maintain school centers on school premises, and providing for the employment of a competent staff. (2) Authorizing local appropriations for the maintenance of school centers. (3) Indicating the method whereby, in case the school board does not establish school centers, the question of their establishment can be submitted to the electors of the district upon the initiative of a certain minority of the electors. (4) Prescribing for what purposes and under what conditions schools may be used by individuals and organizations. (5) Authorizing school directors or boards of education to permit voluntary organizations to maintain and operate centers in school buildings.

The Nature and Scope of Community Center Activities.—The popular appeal of the school community center has come about largely through its emphasis upon recreational interests. From the beginning of this movement a prominent feature of its program has been its provision of facilities for games, athletic contests, gymnastic training, dancing, and social gatherings of various kinds. This development of recreation facilities of a non-commercial nature controlled by the people of the neighborhood and provided with trained supervisors has met such a real need that wherever a school center is established, a recreation program is planned as elaborately as the existing facilities will permit.

Adult education is another phase of community center work

[5] Perry, *First Steps in Community Center Development*, p. 6.

to which a great deal of attention has been given. Classes dealing with regular school subjects may be maintained for the older children who may find it necessary to work during the day. In communities where there are many foreign born, instruction is given in English, civics and other subjects that may be in demand. Vocational classes are formed and when the school center is located in a high school a wide variety of practical courses may be offered in such subjects as electrical engineering, mechanical and free-hand drawing, carpentry, machine shop work, wood turning, pattern making, domestic science, sewing, art needle work, etc. This educational part of the community center program has met a real need, especially in the congested foreign centers of the large cities, and in many places has become a regular feature of the public school system.

A third phase of community center work has to do with the promotion of the civic interests of the neighborhood it serves. One of the principles for which Mr. Ward stood firmly in his Rochester school centers was the right of free public discussion. Speakers were brought to the school centers to address the people on topics of public interest. Insistence on the right of the people to hold a public meeting in a school building for the discussion of controversial matters aroused a great deal of opposition in Rochester and finally culminated in a temporary closing of the school centers in that city. Similar difficulties have been experienced in conducting public forums in other school centers but in recent years the public attitude on this question has been greatly modified and now the right to use the school as a place for general discussion is seldom challenged.

In addition to the discussion of public problems, the civic interests of the community are promoted by the organization of civic clubs which study different phases of the local situation and adopt programs of community improvement. The cultural needs of the community may be furthered by the organization of dramatic societies and musical clubs and

groups interested in the study of literature. Lecture courses, public concerts, health exhibits, reading room facilities are still other ways in which the school community center makes itself an indispensable part of the life of the neighborhood in which it is located.

Limitations of the School Community Center.—One of the obvious difficulties faced by those promoting the wider use of the school plant is the traditional type of school architecture which has given us school buildings that ordinarily are unsuited for community use. In the beginning of this movement this handicap was especially serious for at that time only the largest and best equipped schools were in any way fitted for recreational purposes and general neighborhood meetings. As school centers became more popular, school architecture was modified to meet the new requirements. Nevertheless, in spite of the progress that has been made in securing an improved type of building, there still remain thousands of schools which would require remodelling and additional equipment before a satisfactory school community center could be established. This is especially true of the schools in the small town and open country where consolidation has not yet taken place. Under these conditions it is not surprising that the school community center movement has not gone forward as rapidly as was originally predicted and it is readily apparent that this limitation to its progress will perhaps continue to exist for many years to come.

Another limitation to the success of this movement has been either the indifference or the unfavorable attitude of many people with reference to this wider use of the school. In some cases this has taken the form of marked opposition to the school center on the part of certain vested interests; in other cases it has simply been the inertia that must be overcome before a new idea can secure popular acceptance. The hesitancy on the part of the school authorities to give permission to establish school community centers has sometimes grown out of legal limitations but an explanation of

almost equal importance is their adherence to the traditional attitude toward the function of the school.

Still another serious problem of the school community center is the difficulty of getting the people of the entire neighborhood or school district to participate in the activities and support the undertaking. The school districts in the congested areas of large cities often comprise various nationalities and people of different economic status with not many interests in common. The value of association on a neighborhood basis may be indisputable but nevertheless congeniality and similar tastes and interests must be given due consideration in any scheme of organization. The promoters of school centers have often found that, in spite of their best efforts, those participating in the activities represent only certain groups and factions within the neighborhood. This may not be so serious in large cities where out of a large population there can be found a sufficient number of like-minded and congenial people to make the center worth while. But in the smaller communities all the people must unite in support of the enterprise if it is to succeed, even though they may be divided into different social classes and have widely variant interests. The school community center movement would have gone forward much more rapidly if people were more favorably inclined toward association on a neighborhood basis. The modern trend is in the direction of selective association over a constantly widening area made possible by more rapid means of communication. Without doubt this tendency toward the breaking up of the traditional neighborhood unit is one of the most serious obstacles with which the school community center movement has to contend.

Contributions to Field of Community Organization.—The school community center in its simplest form in small rural schools involves a minimum of organization. In some places the movement is sponsored by an informal neighborhood association in which all the citizens in the district are assumed to have membership. Under the auspices of this organization

the people assemble at the school from time to time to discuss neighborhood problems and to enjoy literary, musical, and dramatic entertainments provided largely by local talent. Other organizations such as the grange, a union Sunday school or boys' and girls' clubs may use the school as a meeting place, thus making the school the real center of neighborhood life. All this, however, may go forward in an informal manner with no effort to develop an organization, such as a community council, to correlate the work of the various agencies and groups represented in the neighborhood. The community work undertaken in the Porter school district as described in Dewey's *New Schools for Old* is an excellent illustration of what may be done by a rural school under disadvantageous circumstances provided suitable leadership be secured.

In consolidated schools where the unit of work is larger and wider interests are found, the school community center usually requires a more formal method of organization. This may take the form of a community center association made up of all the groups in the community that have their headquarters in the school building. This central association makes arrangements with the school authorities for the use of the building, determines the nature and scope of the activities, works out a schedule for the various meetings, provides the necessary leadership, and passes upon all matters of policy. Where the school community center has developed to this extent in a well-equipped, consolidated school, it stands out as a strong unifying force in the community and becomes a significant experiment in community organization.

When an attempt is made to organize the school community center in a congested district of a large city, it becomes at once apparent that this movement in such a situation must take its place among many other important efforts to deal with the complex problems of city life and therefore must tend to develop a specialized rather than an inclusive program. This of course does not lessen its value in the special field in which it operates, but does mark a definite

limitation from the point of view of community organization. As far as the school center in the large city is concerned, its contribution to community organization consists largely in the opportunity given the people to participate directly in the management of certain of their community affairs in which they have vital interest. Many factors, of necessity, are excluded from this control on a neighborhood basis since they can be more efficiently managed on a city-wide scale, but even this limited opportunity for self-determination that is afforded by the school center is a socializing force of unusual value.

The great impetus given the school community center idea during the war when the Council of National Defense issued the nation-wide call to organize community councils of defense with the school as the recommended center seemed to mark the beginning of a new era in community organization. The plan of organization of these community councils called for a governing board composed of official representatives of all the social and civic agencies at work in a school district and of citizens chosen by the people in an open meeting. In this way there was brought together in the school headquarters a group of influential people capable of expressing the will of their constituency in whatever joint action seemed desirable. One of the leaders in this movement, writing under the stress of the war situation when these community councils were being rapidly organized throughout the entire country, pictured the social work possibilities of these local councils in the following words:

"Think of the increased social and coöperative power,—one set of centrally located records available, one set of publicity workers, one set of block and home visitors and one set of occupational advisers available to all, at one great educational central plant supported out of tax funds paid by all and without the divisive factors of church, labor union, grange or other industrial class group, social or fraternal body or other exclusive private neighborhood group. The economy of such a local community arrangement is no less appealing than is its community wide democracy inspiring. Its gathering up of community force

into one powerful creative national unit is as menacing to any bureaucratic, despotic foe as it is hopeful for our own future social reconstruction with intelligent popular support. . . .

"Think of the almost virgin field: a social worker for every larger school community center on the public school staff, and social worker 'circuit riders' for smaller schools and for the staff of the county superintendent of schools; the social work of special schools for defectives or abnormals added to the friendly visitor's work of the visiting teacher, becoming a social service help for every normal school group and community."[6]

This dream of having the social work activities of the community centralized in the school community center and supported by the public, if possible of realization, would be a notable achievement in community organization. Thus far, few, if any, steps have been taken in this direction. Ordinarily the school community center movement has made no attempt to include within its scope the public and private agencies dealing with the disadvantaged and anti-social classes. On the contrary, it has tended to specialize in but one phase of community work and as a consequence it has been able to operate as a coördinating force only in the field which it has preëmpted.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What influences entered into the development of the school community center idea?
2. Outline the essential features of the Rochester experiment. (See Ward, *The Social Center.*)
3. What obstacles have stood in the way of the progress of the school community center movement?
4. Has the school community center movement been promoted primarily by the school authorities or by outside leadership?
5. Discuss the administrative problems of the school community center.

[6] Burchard, "Community Councils and Community Centers," *National Conference Social Work,* 1918, p. 471.

6. Has the school community center movement been more successful in the larger or smaller cities?

7. Describe the experiment in the Porter school district. How do you account for its success? (See Dewey, *New Schools for Old.*)

8. What types of organizations usually coöperate in the school community center work?

9. Is it practicable for the school to serve as the center for all the social service work of the community?

10. Study a school community center in active operation and evaluate its work.

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CHAPTER X

THE COUNTRY LIFE MOVEMENT

The experiments in community organization that may be grouped under the Country Life Movement do not stand out as a single type as do for example those fostered by the Red Cross or the Playground and Recreation Association. As a matter of fact the rural community has been a fertile field for all sorts of experiments, many of which have been initiated by outside organizations with apparently little thought concerning their suitability for rural conditions. In general, if an organization succeeds in the city there is a strong tendency to transplant it bodily to smaller communities. For this reason the classification of experiments in community organization according to the type of community in which they are found is far from satisfactory. Many agencies engaged in the promotion of community programs are operating both in the city and in the country.

Nevertheless, while the Country Life Movement has been called upon to shelter many diverse outside experiments, it has been a powerful creative force in the field of rural organization. During the past decade or more, rural specialists, especially, have been painstaking and aggressive in their investigations and analyses of country life and have issued important publications based upon their studies. The annual meetings of the American Country Life Association have served as a clearing house for the interchange and dissemination of views concerning the whole field of rural social development. The small group of leaders in the Association have carried out distinctive experiments in community organization, by no means based upon a generally accepted national

policy, but nevertheless all characterized by a unity growing out of a similar approach to a well-defined problem.

Origin and Meaning of the Country Life Movement.—In the history of agriculture there have been two outstanding problems: the first had to do with improved agriculture and the second with improvement of conditions of life in rural districts. The earliest organized efforts in the field of agriculture laid emphasis on the first problem; the second was not brought prominently to the attention of the public until 1908, when President Roosevelt appointed the Country Life Commission. Prior to this time there had been, of course, a certain amount of interest in the distinctively social welfare aspect of rural life. The National Grange, which was established in 1868, has always emphasized the human side of the problem of agriculture. The church and the school have for many years been interested in improving the conditions of life in rural communities. But from the point of view of the beginning of aggressive efforts to develop a wide-reaching program of improvement in rural social conditions, the country life movement may be said to have originated with the calling together of the Country Life Commission.

While Congress refused to make an appropriation for the publication of the report of the Commission, its findings were given wide publicity, with the result that considerable public interest was aroused in what came to be known as the country life problem as contrasted with the agricultural problem. Books were written on this subject and chairs of rural sociology were established in a few universities and agricultural colleges. As early as 1912 E. L. Morgan began his organization of New England communities as a member of the Extension Staff of the Massachusetts State College of Agriculture. The Community Church Movement got under way at about the same time under the leadership of Warren H. Wilson and others associated with him. A number of experiments were made prior to the war in developing social centers in rural schools. The publication in 1915 of Galpin's *The Social*

Anatomy of an Agricultural Community not only aroused new interest in rural communities but developed a technique of investigation that later was widely followed.

In November, 1917, a small group of men interested in country life problems called a conference at the University Club in Washington, D. C. At this meeting it was definitely suggested that a country life movement be launched and a committee was appointed for that purpose. A representative of the National Community Center Association, who was present at this conference, emphasized the need of coöperation and stated that his association would be ready for service in connection with any movement pertaining to rural progress. To this suggestion Dean Mann of the New York State College of Agriculture replied that "the business of life is done by differentiating the work of interests. We can get further at the present time in our planning if we segregate the city from the country and the social or community life from the economic."[1] This view prevailed and steps were taken for the organization of the American Country Life Association which held its first meeting in Baltimore in 1919. The following excerpts from President Butterfield's address delivered at that meeting set forth clearly the purpose of the country life movement:

"The country life interest is, we believe, the supreme rural interest. . . . We agree that the economic motive is a worthy and dominant one, that a great rural civilization must be founded upon reasonable economic prosperity. . . . But we want to make it clear to everybody, certainly to ourselves, that the end of all these efforts for economic effectiveness is human welfare, and not the possibilities of still more profit. . . . We want to stand for the idea that welfare is a greater thing than wealth. . . . I believe firmly that the thesis can be maintained that the most thoroughgoing method of attaining agricultural prosperity is by setting in motion the great spiritual forces, education, coöperation, moral ideals; and consequently the problems which we are to discuss here, problems of better means of communication in order to banish isolation, fuller development of democratic means of

[1] *Proceedings National Country Life Conference*, 1919, p. 175.

education, wiser provision for health, sanitation, recreation, convenience and beauty, proper care of dependents, efficient government, and the cherishing of morals and religion, are fundamental problems, fundamental in the fullest sense of the word.'"[2]

Development of Rural Organization.—Interest in rural organization which led to the establishment of the American Country Life Association in 1919, first developed in connection with the economic problems of the farmer. The Rural Organization Service of the Federal Department of Agriculture limited its discussion in its first reports largely to such matters as mutual and coöperative organizations, improvement of marketing facilities and the securing of credit for the farmer.[3] In the report of the specialist in rural organization of this Federal Department in 1915, the long statement of the work of the national government in promoting organization in rural life is concluded with a brief paragraph describing what was being done for the encouragement of social activities.[4] The change in emphasis from the economic to the social which came about gradually was stimulated by rural surveys under different auspices which directed increasing attention to the inadequacy of farm life. The new life and vigor which characterized the work of national social and health organizations during the war also gave a powerful impetus to the social aspects of rural organization. The success of the American Red Cross in establishing chapters in rural sections encouraged this organization immediately following the war to organize a bureau of rural service for the purpose of formulating rural organization policies. Many other organizations interested in social and health problems, spurred on by the war momentum, likewise invaded the country districts with their programs of country improvement. The American Country Life Association brought together from many different fields the rural leaders whose common

[2] *Proceedings National Country Life Conference*, 1919, p. 26.
[3] Carver, "The Organization of Rural Interests," *Year Book of Department of Agriculture*, 1913, pp. 239-58.
[4] Thompson, "How the Department of Agriculture Promotes Organization in Rural Life," *Year Book of Department of Agriculture*, 1915, p. 272.

bond was interest in the human side of agriculture. The first work facing this new organization was the correlation of the various efforts being made to solve the rural problem. Its annual meetings have been given over to the discussion of the different phases of rural organization and its published proceedings furnish perhaps the best material available in this field. One of the distinct contributions of the country life movement has been the enlargement of the term rural organization to cover all the interests of the rural community.

Problems in Rural Organization.—The organization of rural communities presents serious problems that grow out of the nature of rural life and conditions. One most frequently mentioned is the individualism of the farmer which is largely a product of his isolation. Life in sparsely settled districts where social contacts are limited affords few opportunities for developing the social attitudes favorable to cooperation. The constant necessity for doing things alone tends to develop traits of self-reliance and independence. The farmer's environment has protected him from the popular trend toward organization and his attitude of mind predisposes him to resist the efforts of community organizers to swing him into line.

Another difficulty equally hard to overcome is the problem of communication and transportation. Lack of suitable facilities of this nature in rural communities frequently necessitates organization on such a small scale that it becomes both uninteresting and hard to support. When communication and transportation are improved, local neighborhood organizations may become unpopular because the people's horizons are widened and the more progressive prefer to ally themselves with more congenial organizations elsewhere. Consequently, whether travel facilities are good or bad, they constitute a factor that makes rural organization difficult to provide.

It is too frequently assumed that people living in sparsely settled places prefer to confine their social relationship to

their own local community. On the contrary, to the extent that their minds are broadened by education and travel, there will be many who find irksome the limited associations of their own locality. Besides, the friction and jealousy that develop in small communities, where life is intimate and interests few, often make impracticable the successful operation of a neighborhood association. Successful organizations in cities are based upon likemindedness and freedom of choice and there is no reason to believe that rural organization can be operated on a different basis.

The excessive rate of mobility that is found in many rural communities is another factor that makes rural organization difficult. This mobility may be caused by farm tenancy which in some sections is the source of a constantly floating element in the population. Even where mobility of this sort is no more than normal, there is usually a tendency for young people to leave the farm in search of larger opportunities. This tendency is inevitable because the rural community cannot support a constantly increasing population. When, as is frequently the case, those who leave the community possess qualities of leadership, the resulting loss to rural organization is serious indeed.

When rural organization must be effected in a small community where the financial resources are limited, it becomes practically impossible to secure the skilled leadership that may be necessary. With all the emphasis that may be placed on the advantages of volunteers, it still remains true that an organization with a real program is much more likely to succeed if it has at the helm a leader whose chief business it is to further its interests. Rural organization where the unit is small faces a serious handicap because the best equipped leaders will prefer to work in the city where a larger remuneration can be secured.

The Rural Organization Unit.—The fact that some of the chief difficulties confronting the rural organizer are inherent in the geographical situation has directed attention to the

necessity of selecting the most suitable unit for the administration of rural work. Under the impetus of the neighborhood plan of organization which has in recent years attempted to restore to the city its rapidly disappearing primary group relationships there has developed a persistent effort to carry out a similar plan of organization in the country. Careful studies have been made of rural communities in order to determine their boundaries, the strength of local attachments, and the possibility of uniting the people in the support of a community program.

The school district, ever since the origin of the public school system, has been accepted by the rural people as a unit in which they have a peculiar interest. Even in places where the rural school is inadequately supported, as is indicated by its meagre equipment and poor quality of instruction, there have grown up around this local institution a sense of ownership and attitudes of loyalty that make the people ready to fight for it when its existence is threatened. The apparent strength of this attachment to the school district has been convincing evidence to many that the country school forms a natural social center for the twenty or thirty families living in that neighborhood. It is obvious, however, that rural organization on such a small scale is likely to prove ineffective and very difficult to support.

The advance made during recent years in the consolidation of schools has developed a new rural unit which in many ways seems ideal for organization purposes. The consolidated school district, covering an area of from twenty to thirty square miles and containing from one hundred to two hundred and fifty farm homes, constitutes a potential community that gives promise of much usefulness. In such a district the school building is usually commodious and can well afford to be equipped with facilities for community meetings. Many such schools have become the commonly accepted meeting place for community clubs, Parent-Teacher's Associations and other organizations at work in the district. The chief difficulty

about the consolidated school district from the point of view of rural organization is the antagonism which is frequently aroused in the effort to locate the new school building. Local neighborhoods set up their rival claims for the building and such intense partisan feelings may develop that united action in the new community may become impossible. Nevertheless, when properly located the consolidated school is bound to become a rural unit of increasing importance.

Another possible unit for rural organization is the town or small city with the surrounding territory comprising its trade area. The town forms the natural center to which the people from the country districts are accustomed to come for trading purposes. Within the town are found the churches, schools, and other organizations needed for the enrichment of country life. Under these circumstances it would seem logical to develop a coöperative spirit between town and country which would enable the town to serve as the social center for all living in its trade area.

Such a plan of organization has obvious advantages and apparently works satisfactorily in a region like New England where the town includes the township. In many sections of the country, however, the town and country people have drifted so widely apart that the promotion of social interrelationships becomes impracticable. The farmers come to town to trade but they feel that they have little in common with the town residents. If there is not a distinct social cleavage, there exists at least a pronounced difference in social attitudes and interests which cannot easily be overcome. A unit of this kind also has ill-defined boundaries with the people on the outer edges dwelling in a kind of neutral zone with few or no attachments to the trading center. Furthermore, the unsatisfactory location of towns often complicates the whole situation and makes exceedingly difficult the division of rural territory into well-defined trade areas.

As the most practicable means of overcoming the difficulties

of rural organization growing out of isolation and inadequate means of financial support, it has been proposed that this work be organized on a county-wide basis, with the local communities operating as functional units within this county organization. Such an arrangement makes possible adequate provision for the overhead cost of administration as well as the employment of technical experts whose services are available to the different communities when needed. The county chapters of the American Red Cross are notable examples of this type of organization. The county system of public welfare is still another attempt of a similar kind, although there is no adequate provision for local community organization. The County Councils of National Defense with their Community Councils provided unusually effective machinery for mobilizing for war purposes the resources of the small communities. The great weakness of the county unit from the point of view of rural organization is that the territory to be covered is so large that the more isolated communities are almost certain to be neglected. The organization works out from the county headquarters, usually located at the county seat, and frequently does little more than cover the important towns within its jurisdiction. This perhaps is inevitable in the early stages of county organization and is due more to the failure to provide adequate personnel than to any weakness in the county as a unit of work.

The Farm Bureau Plan of Organization.—The Farm Bureau, which grew out of a campaign launched in the southwest against the boll weevil by the United States Department of Agriculture about two decades ago, has developed into one of the most significant experiments yet made in rural organization. In its origin it must be classed among those movements that have been devised by experts connected with a national organization, and in its later development it has never had to look to local sources alone for financial support. Nevertheless, it has stood out in an increasing measure as an organization acceptable to farmers with a constant tendency

to lay emphasis upon local initiative as well as upon democratic forms of control.

After a decade of experiments by the Federal Department of Agriculture with its farm demonstration work organized on a county basis, the Farm Bureau Movement was given official recognition in 1914 by the passage of the Smith-Lever Act which provided for an appropriation of Federal funds to land-grant colleges to aid in the further development of this plan of organization of rural interests. According to the provisions of the law, Federal funds are granted to states that duplicate the amount appropriated by the Federal government. The states in their turn make a similar proposal to the counties which necessitates a local appropriation before the state and national funds are available. The administrative agent in the state is usually a member of the staff of the State Agricultural College who coöperates closely with the Federal Department of Agriculture. The county administrative unit is the Farm Bureau Association, composed of the farmers within the county who are willing to support the movement by the payment of a small membership fee. This Association, together with the State Agricultural College and the Federal Department of Agriculture, employs a county agent and accepts responsibility for the general direction of work throughout the county. In order that the work may be placed as far as possible on a community basis, the county is sometimes divided into ten or twelve districts in each of which there is a local committee with a chairman who becomes a member of the Board of Directors of the County Association. While the organization of local communities is not usually carried out in a very detailed way, it at least provides the machinery for adequate representation of local interests.

The methods of organizing a Farm Bureau vary somewhat in different places. Sometimes the chamber of commerce, a farmers' club or another group of interested people call a public meeting where the plan is discussed and a county

organization effected. The officers of the county association later divide the county into appropriate districts and arrange for the organization of the local communities. In other places the movement has its origin in the local communities where farm bureau centers are organized which later unite to form the county association as soon as a sufficient number of centers are established. But whatever method is followed, emphasis is always placed on the necessity of a county organization which must accept its share of responsibility for direction and control of the work.

The Rural Community Council.—The general plan of the community council seems to have been first formulated in cities in connection with Councils of Social Agencies and the Social Center movement, but it was soon applied to rural communities where it has apparently enjoyed a somewhat independent development. As early as 1909 in West Newbury, Massachusetts, a Federation for Rural Progress was organized which was composed of representatives of the leading organizations and agencies of the town, including the church, the school committee and two granges. A few years later the Massachusetts State Agricultural College added to its Extension Staff a community advisor whose duty it was to assist local groups throughout the state to organize more efficiently their community affairs. As this new work developed, the great need seemed to be to bring about better coöperation among the various agencies so that a comprehensive community program might be carefully planned and carried to completion.

The community councils that were organized to accomplish this purpose covered the entire township, which is the natural local unit in Massachusetts. In the establishment of these councils every effort was made to have them develop naturally in response to the felt need of the people. It is significant that the plan of organization calls for much preliminary work before it is brought in any public way to the attention of the entire community. The recommended procedure usually be-

gins with a conference of one representative from each local organization to consider the advisability of developing a community program. These representatives report to the respective organizations and if their approval of the plan is secured each organization appoints a permanent delegate to serve as a member of the community council. At the first meeting of this council three or more members at large are added to give representation to the general public. Its first work is to promote acquaintance among its different organizations and to get a definite understanding of their varied programs, a preliminary task of great importance which may take six months or a year. As soon as the organizations have reached the point where their coöperation seems possible, arrangements are made for a general community meeting where the need of launching a comprehensive community plan is discussed and the people are asked to give their approval to such an undertaking. If action is favorable, committees are appointed on farm production, farm business, conservation, boys' and girls' interests, and community life. Upon these committees is laid the responsibility of studying their field of work and agreeing upon several projects which in their opinion should become a part of a general community program. When these committees are ready to report a second community meeting is held, which adopts a program based upon the different committees' recommendations. The community council accepts responsibility for the direction of this program and turns over to the appropriate organizations the projects they are best fitted to carry out. If new organizations are needed, the council assists in their establishment. The council meets every three months to hear reports of progress made on the different projects and to pass upon matters of general policy. Once each year a public meeting is held where the people have opportunity to check the work that has been done and to formulate new plans for the coming year.[5]

[5] Morgan, *Mobilizing the Rural Community.*

This recommended procedure was of course to be adapted to the needs of different communities, but in general it represents the methods followed by Professor E. L. Morgan in his promotion of rural organization in Massachusetts. It was recognized from the first that local volunteer effort was hardly sufficient to see through successfully such a broad community undertaking and, consequently, whenever feasible it was suggested that a community secretary be employed either on a part time or full time basis. Unfortunately, the war interrupted this unusual experiment in rural organization after it had been under way for a period of about ten years.

Development of Rural Community Buildings.—One of the practical outgrowths of the country life movement is an increasing interest in rural community houses. Without waiting for a final outcome of the various efforts being made to determine the natural boundaries of communities and the most suitable methods of rural organization, the people in many localities have attempted to solve their rural problems by building a community house that might serve as a center for the community activities. The establishment of such a community building is of great significance, for it becomes a tangible, concrete symbol of the community movement and at the same time tends to develop a natural community of interest with such strong bonds of attachment that its boundaries are readily apparent. On the other hand, if improperly located or if maintained under partisan rather than community control, it is likely to become a bar to progress that will make more difficult well-planned community organization.

Rural community buildings are not, of course, a modern development. The church building and the school house have long been utilized by rural people as a center for their social activities. In some cases, the grange or a farmers' club erected a building which because of its availability came to be utilized as a community center. Gradually as the value of community gathering places became more clearly recognized, efforts were made to build and equip houses especially designed to meet

community needs. Some of these, as in earlier times, served also as a church or as a school, but their architecture and equipment were modified so as to make them suitable centers of community life. Others were erected simply as community houses financed either by the local government or by the voluntary efforts of the people themselves.

In a study conducted by the U. S. Department of Agriculture in 1919, it was found that out of 256 community buildings, 83 were located in the open country, 201 were in places of 2500 inhabitants or less, and 55 were in small cities having a population of more than 2500. The 83 buildings in the open country were for the most part erected by farmers' clubs, whose membership included usually all the people of the community. In these buildings, the various organizations and social activities of the community found their natural home, thus making possible a community center that met the various needs of the people.[6]

In view of the emphasis usually given to the friction between the town and country, it is significant that the vast majority of the rural community buildings investigated by the Department of Agriculture were located in towns or small cities. The official report does not state whether this fact is indicative of a tendency on the part of rural people to make a wider use of their trading center. A much more important factor perhaps is the concentration of leadership and financial resources in the town. At any rate the rapid increase of community buildings of this kind is a step toward the broader community relationships needed to break down the traditional lines of demarcation between town and country.

Significant Trends in the Country Life Movement.—While the importance of the local community as a social unit is still adhered to, there is a growing recognition of the necessity of utilizing larger administrative units for the success-

[6] *Organization of Rural Community Buildings.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Bulletin, No. 1192.

ful promotion of rural community work. The consolidated school district, the trade center unit, the county, and for certain purposes still larger districts, are accepted as the proper basis for the organization of rural interests. The point of view seems to be that the rural people need certain services which can come only through coöperative effort on a scale large enough to insure financial support, and this coöperation, it is believed, will strengthen rather than weaken local community loyalties.

The neglect of rural problems in the past and the common assumption that city methods of social work should be copied by smaller social units, led for a time to an over-emphasis of the differences between city and country communities. It is now becoming more apparent that these differences which are largely a product of lack of social contacts, are tending to decrease with the development of better means of communication and transportation. Furthermore, it is also realized that the drawing together of city and country will be of mutual advantage, and is especially necessary in overcoming some of the handicaps of rural life. Consequently efforts are being made to minimize the traditional antagonisms and discover common bonds of sympathy and interest which will make coöperation possible.

Rural surveys have furnished abundant evidence of the existence of serious social problems in small towns and rural communities and the experience of social agencies in these communities has fully demonstrated the value of expert social service in improving these rural conditions. Recognition of this fact is now becoming more general, and as a result country life leaders are more inclined to give a place of importance to remedial measures in the field of poor relief, feeble-mindedness, crime and delinquency, and hygiene and sanitation. City social workers on their part, have become convinced that social case work is easily adapted to rural situations, and that permanent improvement of city life must be accompanied also by a corresponding improvement

of rural standards. This is leading in many places to an extension of the jurisdiction of city social agencies to include the surrounding rural territory.

The country life movement had its origin in a sharp demarcation of interests between the social and economic aspects of rural communities. The life of the new movement depended upon its ability to attract attention to the problems with which it was dealing, and this naturally led to a lack of emphasis upon economic factors. Now since the country life interests are well established, there is a tendency to look at the rural situation more broadly and endeavor to work out a plan whereby all who are trying to improve rural communities may recognize their interdependence and work in a more closely coördinated manner.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Is it correct to regard the country life movement as an effort to establish social work in rural communities?
2. To what extent did professional social workers participate in the early development of the country life movement?
3. Are the differences between city and country sufficiently wide to justify efforts to develop a technique of rural organization?
4. Describe several types of experiments in community organization that have been initiated by rural leaders.
5. Discuss critically Perry's plan for the the solution of the rural transportation problem.
6. Point out the advantages to be gained through the development of special municipal corporations in rural regions. Why has so little been done in this direction?
7. State the essential features of Morgan's plan of rural organization in Massachusetts.
8. What are the various factors that must be taken in consideration in determining the proper unit for rural organization?
9. Have the experiments in community organization on a

county basis been sufficiently successful to warrant a wider use of this plan of organization?

10. Should the Farm Bureau enlarge the scope of its work to include the problems of rural social organization?

11. Describe a rural community which has been successfully organized around a rural social center.

12. Point out in a county seat with which you are well acquainted the social and recreational facilities that have been built up in coöperation with the rural people and designed to meet their needs.

13. Have we reason to believe that the traditional gulf between town and country will disappear in the near future?

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CHAPTER XI

THE FEDERATION OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

The problem of community organization from the point of view of those interested in the field of social work, consists, to a large degree, in the task of coördinating the activities of social work agencies. The rapid growth of these agencies, especially since the beginning of the present century, has brought this problem to the forefront of attention, and has led to the development of the federation as a means of facilitating community planning in social work. The two outstanding types of federation of social agencies, the central council, and the financial federation or community chest, have had a wide vogue and represent unusually significant experiments in community organization.

I. Central Council of Social Agencies

Development of the Central Council Plan.—The effort of the Charity Organization Society to coördinate the work of relief agencies not only proved to be a convincing demonstration of the value of the federation idea, but directed attention to the need of machinery that would promote coöperation among the agencies in the community. This is seen in the experience of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity which in 1879 organized an "Assembly" comprising ten committees representative of a wide range of charitable, reformatory, and health interests of the city. In other cities a similar purpose was accomplished by the organization of social workers' clubs and city conferences of social workers in which the Charity Organization Society was frequently the guiding spirit. The more formal organization of the social

agencies into a central council had its beginning in connection with the establishment of the Associated Charities of Pittsburgh in 1908. Unlike the usual charity organization society, this Associated Charities was in reality a federation of charities in which the leading social agencies held membership and contributed to its support. As a part of this plan of organization, these agencies appointed delegates to a central council which was given the right to appoint ten of the twenty-one trustees of the Associated Charities. Later this arrangement proved unsatisfactory, and it was found necessary to modify the constitution of the Associated Charities so that it could take its place among other agencies as an independent member of the Central Council. This latter organization which had a wide membership in the city gave evidence of its value in promoting educational campaigns in the fields of child welfare and public health, as well as in coördinating the work of the various social agencies.[1]

Beginning with this experiment in Pittsburgh, the Central Council idea was transplanted to other cities, usually under the auspices or leadership of the agencies representing the charity organization movement. Among the first cities to establish central councils of social agencies were Milwaukee, Rochester, Columbus, Cincinnati, Seattle, Chicago and Minneapolis. The outstanding leader in developing the central council plan was Francis H. McLean, now field director of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, whose manual describing the technique of organization of central councils of social agencies sums up the experience gained in this field and is widely used by those interested in this phase of community organization.

Nature and Purpose of the Central Council.—Central councils of social agencies have been defined by McLean as "delegate bodies representing the social agencies of the city, these agencies still maintaining independence of action in all fields

[1] Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States*, pp. 348, 425-26.

and being bound together by coöperative rather than contractual relationships''.[2] In other words they may be described as a device for gathering the specialized agencies into a coöperative movement that will conserve their necessary freedom and at the same time make joint action possible.

The distinguishing characteristic of a central council is that it is a body composed of official delegates appointed by its member organizations. Usually it is provided that each agency shall be represented by two delegates, one being the executive of the agency who serves in an ex-officio capacity. In order that this council may be widely representative of all the interests of the city, it is customary to add some members-at-large who represent the community as a whole. It is understood, however, that the central council is primarily a federation of agencies and, therefore, the number of the members-at-large is limited to a small minority. Provision is made for the proper representation of public departments interested in social work by requesting their executive heads to serve as ex-officio members of the council.

It is obvious that an organization of this kind is in a peculiarly favorable position to have oversight of the social work of the community and to assume leadership in developing plans for community improvement. The individual agencies are officially represented and have the opportunity of interpreting their work and point of view to other members of the council. There is no need to fear that the council will get into the control of a group antagonistic to the social agencies, for its membership consists of those appointed to represent their interests. If a question arises concerning the duplication of work, as, for example, in the field of relief, the central council is qualified to study the situation and pass judgment upon it. If the city needs better recreational facilities, the council may recommend the organization of an agency interested in recreation or ask existing agencies to enlarge their program to meet this need. The important

[2] McLean, "Central Councils and Community Planning," *Survey*, 38 : 216.

consideration is that matters of this kind are not left to the decision of a single agency, but are formally acted upon by a body that represents the combined point of view of those interested in the various phases of social work.

Methods of Work.—A large part of the work of the central council of social agencies is carried on through its special and standing committees whose membership comprises those actively interested in the problems under consideration. Through this plan of committee organization there is at once brought together the people working in similar fields who need the opportunity for an interchange of opinions and plans in order to avoid misunderstanding and friction. If the central council decides to investigate the problem of juvenile delinquency, the committee appointed to study this subject will include representatives from the department of public welfare, the juvenile court, the recreational agencies, the schools, the churches, and any other organizations whose program gives them a definite interest in this field. The simple meeting together of such a group as this means a step toward a mutual understanding of what is being done, and facilitates the coördination of their varied activities. When the report of this committee is made to the central council, opportunity is afforded this larger group to estimate the problem from the point of view of the whole community, and to recommend whatever adjustments or enlargements of the programs of individual agencies may seem advisable. Any formal action of the central council in such a matter as this is purely advisory and is not binding upon the agencies concerned until formally approved by their boards of directors. This limitation of its authority prevents the council from developing into a super-agency that would entirely dominate the policies of its member-organizations. Nevertheless its recommendations exert great influence for they represent the conclusions of those best fitted to pass upon questions of policy.

During the early years of the development of the central

council plan it was felt that this work of coördination could be carried on with a minimum of overhead direction and leadership. Even in the large cities the services of a full-time executive were usually thought to be unnecessary. Volunteer leadership contributed by leading social workers was relied upon to keep the machinery of the council in motion. Operated in this manner the financial expenditure was small, and there was consequently no necessity of making a public appeal for funds. From the beginning of this federation movement, it has been insisted that the council is not an administrative body. Emphasis has continually been placed upon the fact that the federation is essentially functional in nature, a descriptive term intended to distinguish the council from those federations that assumed responsibility for the joint financing of their member agencies. This use of the term "'functional" is somewhat unfortunate, and has done nothing to clarify the issue in question. Dr. Devine's comments upon this point are worthy of consideration.[3]

Entirely apart from this controversy concerning the use of the term "functional", it is apparent that the central councils have felt increasingly the need of full-time executive leadership, and have tended to enlarge their programs of work. The local self-survey of member agencies has gradually led to increasing attention to social research with emphasis upon the publication of results. Educational publicity has become an important function peculiarly appropriate to a central council. In some cases, the central council has seemed to be the most appropriate organization to operate the social service exchange. As soon as the council begins to study the problem of administrative efficiency, there arises the question as to the possibility of central auditing, central stenographic service, and central purchasing for its member agencies. The council that is at all progressive can not easily

[3] Devine, "Central Councils of Social Agencies," *Survey*, January 21, 1922, p. 624.

escape the tendency to enlarge its scope and develop a program of its own with increased administrative responsibilities which in a number of cases have led to the organization of a financial federation. Theoretically it may seem best for a council to limit its methods of work to those that are more informal in nature and maintain itself simply as a convenient means of facilitating joint action, but in actual practice its coördinating function tends to be merged into an administrative program.

Results Accomplished.—It is by no means a simple matter to evaluate the work of the central council of social agencies for many of the projects in which it is interested are at the same time the direct concern of other organizations in the community. The central council, also, because of its very nature must keep itself in the background, and minimize its actual accomplishments in order not to offend its constituent members. If it claims too much for itself or begins to assume too much authority in the community, it is looked upon as a big stick that is being wielded by a small minority. On the other hand, if it engages in no work of outstanding importance, its supporters lose interest and its position of influence cannot be maintained. Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, the central council has been able to present, at least in certain cities, a convincing array of evidence of its value in the field of community organization.

Of first importance, among the distinct services it has rendered, is its approval or disapproval of projected social agencies that are about to be launched in the community. For work of this kind the council is specially fitted because of its widely representative character and its ability to bring together those most able to pass judgment upon the claims of the new agency. Closely related to this type of work is the development of new activities by the council itself. An illustration of what may be done by an energetic council is seen in the Central Council of Social Agencies in Col-

umbus, which brought about the establishment of a registration bureau, supervision of recreation, medical inspection of schools, bureau of social service in the Chamber of Commerce, bureau of social service in the Ohio Council of Public Efficiency, and a free dental clinic for children. In a similar manner the Milwaukee Council took an active part in establishing a legal aid society, juvenile protective association, a centralized budget, medical social service, and venereal and psychopathic clinics. Among the activities of the Chicago Council are the social service exchange, maintenance of a joint office building for 12 agencies, a joint service bureau for Protestant child-caring agencies, an Americanization council, a case conference committee, a Christmas registration bureau, a committee on social legislation, and publication of special studies and investigations.

These citations of work carried on by central councils of social agencies are sufficient to indicate the importance of this movement especially in the larger cities. Unfortunately in the smaller cities the central council has not been equally successful. In spite of the fact that this movement has had a wide vogue since the war in cities of less than 25,000 population, there are few instances where a consistent program has been maintained for any length of time in cities of this size. The history of such councils usually comprises a period of enthusiastic beginnings, a year or two of meetings with declining interest and then a final period of inactivity. The explanation of this failure to function is usually lack of adequate leadership. The amount of work does not seem to justify a paid executive, and part time leadership, furnished by one of the local agencies, has been peculiarly inappropriate to small city conditions. In some places an apparent solution of this dilemma has been found by having the council assume responsibility for a centralized budget, which may justify in the eyes of the public the employment of a paid executive. The chief difficulty where this is done is to prevent the fundamental purposes of the council from being

submerged by the heavy financial responsibilities of the organization.

II. The Financial Federation

From one point of view the financial federation is simply a central council that includes joint finance among its functions. In the development of this movement, however, the assumption of financial responsibility for its member agencies has brought about such important modifications in its policy and method of operation that it has come to be looked upon as essentially a separate organization. This is especially true in the case of the so-called community chest which is frequently organized solely for the joint raising of funds and may make no attempt to carry out the ordinary functions of the central council.

Early Experiments in Joint Finance.—Possibly the first experiment in joint finance in this country was the effort on the part of the Charity Organization of Denver to establish in 1887 a joint fund for the charities in that city. This plan which was little more than a charity chest did not attract great attention, but was continued until it developed later into a more inclusive financial federation.[4]

In 1909 the Elmira (N. Y.) Federation for Social Service united with five of its associated agencies in forming a joint financial organization which was called the Allied Charities. Three years later an attempt was made by the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce to institute the plan of joint finance in that city. Because of the unwillingness of the social agencies to coöperate, the movement proved abortive and was soon abandoned.

The successful pioneering work in the field of joint finance was carried on by Jewish social agencies. As early as 1896 the supporters of the Jewish agencies in Cincinnati adopted a financial plan that included a joint drive for funds. This experiment led to the establishment of the Jewish federation

[4] For a good statement of the early history of joint finance see Leebron, *The Financial Federation Movement.*

movement in many of the large cities where it demonstrated the value of a joint budget a number of years before the financial federation had attracted the attention of social workers in general. It is very probable that the success of the Jewish financial federation stimulated the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce to undertake the study of the problem of financial support of the social agencies in that city. This investigation, which was begun in 1908, finally led to the establishment in 1913 of the Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy. The first year 57 agencies joined this organization, and the amount raised for their support was $377,000. The following year the work of this federation was supplemented by the organization of the Cleveland Welfare Council which assumed responsibility for the coördination of the social agencies. Later the Federation and the Council were merged into a comprehensive organization known as the Cleveland Welfare Federation.

In 1915 the Council of Social Agencies in Cincinnati, which had been organized two years earlier, established a Central Budget Committee and conducted a campaign for the financial support of twelve of its member agencies. This Cincinnati experiment in joint finance was continued each year with constantly increasing public support until 1918 when the War Chest was established and included the budgets of the local agencies that were being financed by the Council. Following the war the Central Council of Social Agencies was reorganized under the name of the Community Chest and Council of Social Agencies.

By the end of the World War, the financial federation movement was apparently well established. The experience gained through the war chests in several hundred cities was a prominent factor in popularizing the plan of joint finance, and undoubtedly stimulated the further development of financial federations or community chests, which in 1918 already numbered twenty-six. In two years this number had doubled and in 1924 about 200 were in active operation.

Types of Organization.—The financial federation has been characterized by considerable diversity in its plan of organization caused doubtless by the necessity of adapting itself to local conditions in the different cities where it has been established. The simplest type is where the membership of the federation comprises only those social service agencies that participate in the joint financing. The Cleveland Federation for Charity and Philanthropy as it was first organized in 1913 is an example of this type of financial federation. The control of this organization was vested in a board of trustees, one-third of whom were elected by the contributors, one-third by the agencies, and one-third appointed to represent the public.

An entirely different type of organization is a welfare federation which includes in its membership all the social agencies, both public and private, that desire to unite their forces in this manner. Within this federation, provision is made for those participating in joint finance through the appointment of a central budget committee. This type of federation is specially appropriate in a city where a central council of social agencies has existed prior to the decision to adopt the plan of joint finance. Cincinnati's first experiment in financial federation followed this plan of organization which gave the council authority over the budgetary group. As long as the agencies participating in the joint budget were few in number this plan apparently operated in a satisfactory manner. Later, possibly influenced by the war chest movement, this budget committee was supplanted by a community chest which existed alongside the council of social agencies, thus, forming a dual organization. It is significant that Cincinnati has recently merged this dual organization into a single welfare federation but retains the two-fold name, Community Chest and Council of Social Agencies.

This tendency to build up a community chest, sharply differentiated from the community council and specializing in problems of finance, seems to have grown out of the necessity

of developing machinery that would possess greater money-raising power. The experience of the war chests demonstrated the fact that business men of real financial ability can more easily be enlisted for service in a more or less independent organization that makes the raising of funds its primary object. Where the community chest operates as a department of the chamber of commerce or other commercial association the control is given to the business men, but there still exists the difficulty of getting the best financial leaders to serve in a capacity that makes them subordinate to the parent organization. In order to overcome this objection the large contributors may form their own organization entirely independent of outside control, the management being vested in a board of directors in which the social agencies have little or no representation. The Rochester chest which was organized as an association of contributors, made no provision for a federation of agencies. In a statement issued by the manager of this chest in 1922, their position on this point was stated as follows: "Our experience after nearly four years of operation has developed that a federation of agencies of some kind will be very helpful in connection with the Community Chest as a means of promoting coöperation and preventing duplication of effort among the participating organizations as well as agencies outside the Chest. A service secretary has been added to the regular staff of the Community Chest, who will promote coöperation among the agencies, and sometime in the future bring them together in some form of a Council, whose activities while not under control of the Chest, will probably be largely directed by it."[5] The Philadelphia Federation, which is another outstanding example of an association of contributors made provision in its by-laws for a council of social agencies which is a part of the Federation. This general type of organization where the representatives of the social agencies play only a minor part, is generally regarded as unduly autocratic and detrimental to the interests of social

[5] Quoted by Persons, *Central Financing of Social Agencies*, pp. 28-29

work as well as ill adapted to promote the coördination of social programs. A more sound method of organization at least for the large cities, seems to point in the direction of two federations, one of the contributors and one of the agencies, with separate organizations for their respective functions. The leading examples of this solution of the organization problem are Cleveland and Detroit. In this latter city the federation comprises the Community Fund and the Community Union. The Community Fund grew out of the local war chest known as the Patriotic Fund, and is governed by a self-perpetuating board of trustees selected because of their interest in the support of the social agencies of the city. Its purpose is limited to the raising of the budget approved by the Community Union. This latter organization was first known as The Federation of Social Agencies, and is an association of charitable, philanthropic, and civic organizations of the metropolitan area of Detroit. Many agencies holding membership in the Community Union are not at all concerned with central financing, but unite in support of this federation because of their interest in promoting coöperation and the development of standards. Within this Community Union is the central budget committee composed of representatives of those agencies which join in the annual financial drive. The agencies, therefore, and not the contributors, determine the total amount of the budget to be raised by the Community Fund.

In all these attempts to develop a suitable form of organization, the chief problem has been to make possible a satisfactory working relationship between the contributors and the social agencies so that the interests of both might be safeguarded. After various experiments with different types of organizations designed to combine as closely as possible the money-raising and the program-making functions, the trend now seems to be toward separation of these two main responsibilities of central financing. Those favoring this tendency in the financial federation movement state that the

financial and the coördinating functions are so highly specialized that few people are able to render equally effective service in both kinds of work. On the other hand it may be pointed out with very good reason that this separation of functions may lead to misunderstanding and lack of harmony between the social agencies and those who are responsible for their financial support. The dual organization also is open to the further objection that it is likely to be uneconomical and unwieldly especially in the smaller cities.[6]

Principles of Federation Practice.—In the brief history of joint financing of social agencies, certain principles or policies have been developed which are now so generally accepted that they may be regarded as fundamental planks in the financial federation movement.[7] One of these principles, *the immunity rule* in soliciting, has made a strong appeal to the public because it does away with the annoyance of continuous appeal for funds by separate agencies. According to this rule, those who contribute to the budget of the federation are guaranteed freedom from further solicitation by its member agencies for their current expenses during the year. This undoubtedly works a hardship upon the social agencies that have adopted the plan of joint finance when the total budget is not entirely secured. Nevertheless this policy is regarded as of fundamental importance, and every effort is made to put it into effect. It should be observed that this applies only to current expenses and not to building funds, and that it does not affect agencies remaining outside the federation.

Continuous educational publicity is another feature of the financial federation which is sometimes lost sight of because of the intensive publicity at the time of the financial campaign. Successful federations have found it necessary to devise ways and means of keeping before the public throughout the year the accomplishments of their member agencies. This publicity, which has tended more and more to be of

[6] Persons, *Central Financing of Social Agencies*, ch. II.
[7] See Norton, *Financial Federations*. Survey Reprint.

an educational nature in contrast to the usual emotional appeal made during the financial drive, has proven to be one of the important foundations upon which financial federations have had to build.

Even more radical in its departure from traditional methods is the principle of *budgetary control,* which requires participating agencies to submit their individual budgets for detailed review by a budget committee representative of the federation membership. Budgets agreed upon in this manner cannot later be changed without the consent of the federation and even the methods of financial accounting employed by the member-agencies must be in accord with standards that have been set up by the budget committee. This plank in the federation platform has frequently been objected to at the time of the organization of a federation, but it has been of undoubted value in promoting business efficiency in the administration of social agencies.

The *campaign method of raising money* has been quite generally adopted as the most available means of securing the funds called for by the combined budget approved by the federation. While in some cases, under the leadership of professional campaign managers with little or no interest in social work, this has resulted in a whirlwind campaign of an emotional sort that has been detrimental to the local community, the tendency has been for this financial drive to mean simply the application of modern business methods to this problem of securing financial support. In cities where joint finance has been carried on most successfully, a permanent financial organization is built up which by means of an intensive campaign is able to enlist the assistance of the best qualified solicitors and at the same time reach the largest possible number of people.

In addition to the above principles which are primarily concerned with the financial aspects of the federation movement, the *problem of coördination of social agencies* is also kept in the foreground except of course in those places where

the community chest has no interest beyond the raising of funds. Ordinarily when the financial federation is directed by leaders with social vision, it is recognized that joint finance affords an unique opportunity to promote a spirit of coöperation among social agencies and thus make possible more united action in dealing with social problems.

Non-financial Activities.—The leaders in the financial federation movement have always insisted that joint finance is not an end in itself, but merely one of the functions which a federation should assume. In fact, it is claimed that one of the advantages of a centralized budget is that it facilitates coöperation in the development of a comprehensive community program. Where no financial federation exists, an agreement may be reached concerning the establishment of a new agency or the enlargement of the field of an old agency, but the plan may not lead to action because of lack of funds. Under central financing, the new agency or the one requested to increase its work can be given definite assurance of adequate support. Moreover, the part which each agency takes in the study and approval of the various budgets gives an intimate understanding of the whole field of work covered, which could not be as readily secured in any other way. For these reasons it is not surprising that in the matter of *coördination* the financial federation has not only been most active but has also been able to give evidence of unusual results.

In addition to the traditional devices that have been utilized to promote coöperation and unity of action, financial federations have shown a tendency in recent years to enlarge their function by becoming administrative bodies responsible for certain service activities of their own. When these activities take the form of the operation of a central office building, central purchasing, central stenographic and auditing service, they are steps clearly in the direction of economy and business efficiency and may be regarded as new methods of promoting coördination. Likewise the operation of a social service exchange involves the entrance into the administra-

tive field, but seems to be a legitimate service activity that in no way conflicts with the original coördinating function of the federation movement. The situation is quite different, however, when the financial federation operates a hospital social service department, a child-helping bureau, conducts summer outings, or distributes Christmas baskets. Activities of this nature could very well be turned over to the appropriate agency, and there is apparently little justification for the assumption of this kind of administrative responsibility. As a matter of fact, little direct service is being attempted, and in general the federation executives are opposed to further development in this direction. There seems to be general agreement that the financial federation, as well as the central council, is essentially a coördinating body and that it should maintain only those activities that would directly contribute toward this purpose.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What are the special advantages of the federation plan which account for its wide use in different fields?
2. What are the earliest instances of the application of the federation idea to the field of social work?
3. How do you explain the early opposition of many social workers to the financial federation?
4. What were the chief weaknesses of the central council of social agencies in its early development prior to the World War?
5. Does experience indicate that a council of social agencies should be organized prior to the development of a plan of joint finance?
6. Is it advisable for a federation of social agencies to carry on a service program of its own?
7. Can you give concrete evidence showing that the financial federation has been more successful than the central council of social agencies in promoting coördination?
8. Discuss the points of strength and weakness in the dif-

ferent types of financial federations described in Persons' *Central Financing of Social Agencies.*

9. What are some of the dangers involved in the recent rapid growth of the community chest movement?

10. What special problems must be given consideration in adapting the financial federation to the needs of a small city?

11. Should the financial federation movement be regarded as a distinct step in the direction of greater centralization of effort in the field of social work?

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CHAPTER XII

THE SOCIAL SURVEY

Development of the Survey Idea.—It is by no means easy to locate with any precision the exact origin of the social survey. Very probably the emphasis during the latter part of the nineteenth century upon the application of the scientific method to humanitarian work, which found its first outstanding expression in family case work, led also to the use of the diagnostic method in dealing with communities. As early as 1880 public interest in England in social conditions had been sufficiently awakened to justify the publication in leading magazines of articles dealing with such problems as crime, poverty, disease, and other dark phases of community life. For the most part, these accounts were journalistic in nature, with little or no effort to collect in a systematic way the facts they presented. In 1886 Charles Booth began his monumental study of London, which stands out as one of the first attempts at social research on a city-wide scale. Three years later Rowntree undertook a much more intensive first-hand investigation of poverty in the industrial city of York. The following year William Booth's *Darkest England and the Way Out* set forth in no uncertain terms the lot of the poorer classes as viewed by workers in the Salvation Army. One of America's leading philanthropists, Jacob Riis, published at about the same time *How the Other Half Lives,* a noteworthy volume that vividly portrayed conditions then existing in the East Side of New York City. These two latter volumes which attracted wide attention both here and abroad grew out of the life experiences of their authors, and were im-

pressionistic pictures rather than statistical studies of the fields in which they were interested.

With the opening of the new century there was ushered in a muck-raking period in this country when sensational exposures of evils of various sorts became the leading features of some of the popular magazines. Ida Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company* and Lincoln Steffens' *The Shame of the Cities,* both of which were published by *McClure's Magazine* in 1903, set the pace for scores of other writers engaged in work of this kind. The danger of libel, if nothing else, made it necessary for the publishers of such articles to make sufficient investigation to be sure of their facts. Their emphasis, however, was upon the discovery and presentation of matters that would attract popular attention rather than upon the writing of an objective account of the subjects under discussion.

Of a far different nature were the descriptions and discussions of social conditions by such people as Jane Addams, Josiah Strong, Washington Gladden, and Charles R. Henderson, whose books made their appeal to the intellect rather than to the emotions, and pointed the way to a more constructive approach to a study of social problems. Writings of this kind revealed the necessity of a more comprehensive as well as accurate knowledge of social data as a first step in formulating new policies and programs. An important contribution toward meeting this need was made by *The Charities and Commons* in undertaking investigations of social conditions in leading American cities. In 1905 their editorial staff launched their first enterprise of this kind by inaugurating a study of the city of Washington. Early the following year a special issue of the magazine set forth the results of the investigation in a well-written and fully illustrated report of about one hundred pages devoted largely to the evil conditions permitted to exist almost within the shadow of the White House and the Capitol Building. Their second undertaking in this field of social investigation was the Pittsburgh survey

which was begun in 1907 and completed a year later. The publication of the report of this study in abbreviated form in *The Charities and Commons*, and later in four large volumes, marks the real beginning of the survey movement in this country. In continuation of their policy of social investigation, the editors of this magazine (rechristened *The Survey* in 1909) undertook their third study in the city of Birmingham, the leading industrial city of the South. The report of this study published in 1912 included such subjects as city planing, sanitation, health, child welfare, industrial problems, crime, and religion.

The Modern Survey Movement.—A distinct step forward in the development of the survey movement was made possible in 1912 through the establishment of a department of surveys and exhibits by the Russell Sage Foundation. This new department under the direction of Shelby M. Harrison, was almost immediately flooded with requests for assistance in conducting social surveys in various cities. Early in 1914 Mr. Harrison undertook a comprehensive study of Springfield, Illinois, which still stands as a model for investigations of its kind.

By this time the survey idea had acquired such momentum that it spread rapidly through many different fields of effort. Just prior to the outbreak of the World War such national organizations as the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, National Child Labor Committee, and the Federal Children's Bureau were conducting surveys as a regular part of their program. The establishment of the Cleveland Foundation in 1914 was followed by a notable series of surveys under its auspices in the fields of education, recreation, relief, and administration of criminal justice. The growing interest in the rural church during the first decade of the present century brought about the application of the survey method as a means of throwing light on this problem. The Department of Church and Country Life of the Presbyterian Church in the United States as early as 1911 began

making social surveys of rural communities with special emphasis upon the problems of the church. Other religious bodies adopted a similar method of work, and within a few years the religious survey had gained a wide vogue. Possibly the most extensive survey ever launched was that of the Interchurch World Movement which in 1919 undertook to study not merely every county in the United States, but all the areas in foreign countries where Christian missionaries were at work. Two years later, when this movement came to a sudden end, social surveys were already under way in 1,600 counties, and a convincing demonstration had been made of the need and value of investigations of this nature. The Committee on Social and Religious Surveys, later called the Institute of Social and Religious Research, was organized to carry forward this phase of the program of the Interchurch World Movement, and has published some noteworthy volumes that are an important contribution to the methodology of social surveys.

The American Red Cross, in connection with the development of its peace-time program, established in 1919 a Bureau of Community Studies which endeavored to develop a technique for pathfinder surveys designed to present convincing evidence to the people of the need of continued support of the Red Cross chapters especially in the counties where there was a large rural and small town population. A community study institute for the training of personnel was held in Washington, and surveys of three typical communities were made in order to give field-work experience to the students. Later a community study manual was prepared, containing schedules and detailed information concerning technique, but was never published, because of the discontinuance of the policy of community study promotion. Undoubtedly the work of the Red Cross in this field aroused a great deal of popular interest in the type of survey which could be carried out by local workers with a minimum of outside direction and leadership.

Another national organization, Community Service Incorporated, carried still further this idea of pathfinder studies as a means of initiating their work in a local community. In one of their manuals [1] the community organizer is advised to familiarize himself with a new situation as follows: read the newspapers; read the history of the town; study the directory and the telephone book; talk to the hotel clerk, librarian, postmaster, policeman, and others who know the community; ride or walk about the town and get a general idea how the people are spending their leisure time; see the physical facilities such as schools, parks, playgrounds, public buildings, etc.; get a map of the city and mark important places and organizations upon it; observe the leisure time activities conducted by theatres, schools, churches, and agencies. Obviously such a procedure is superficial and can give only general impressions. It is a typical example, however, of the recent tendency to popularize the survey movement by developing a simple technique capable of being carried out without the aid of expert leaders.

Another far different trend in the survey movement is seen in the highly technical surveys carried on under the auspices of the Cleveland Foundation. This Foundation, which was organized in 1914, definitely adopted a survey program as a means of accomplishing the purposes for which it was established. Its first major work was the education survey of Cleveland directed by a staff of specialists who made a thoroughgoing analysis of the school system of that city at a cost of $48,000. The significant feature of this survey was the emphasis upon developing means of publicity that would reach large numbers of people. An outstanding purpose of the survey was the creation of public interest in school affairs. The extent of the widespread interest aroused by this survey throughout the country is indicated by the fact that 90,000 volumes of the report were sold during six years following its publication.

[1] *Community Service.* Bulletin 368, January 18, 1921.

The recreation survey which was undertaken by this same Foundation in 1917 was carried out in an equally thoroughgoing manner. Not only were the recreation agencies studied, but an effort was made to determine the character and extent of Cleveland's recreation problem. The unusual nature of this survey is seen by the methods employed to get at the facts desired. One hundred and sixty cases of deliquency that had passed through the juvenile courts of the city were studied in order to find out what relation, if any, existed between the anti-social conduct of these children and the lack of proper facilities for play. The problem was then approached from another angle by studying the spare-time activities of one hundred and sixty wholesome citizens during various periods of their lives. When to this information was added a survey of the recreation activities of the various agencies a well-balanced picture of the whole recreational problem was available for the people of the city.

The third major undertaking of the Cleveland Foundation—the study of the administration of criminal justice in Cleveland—likewise set new standards in surveys of agencies for law enforcement. Nationally known specialists in this field were placed in charge of this study, and were given all needed facilities in getting at the facts. In order to guard against errors in statements of existing conditions, the preliminary report was submitted not only to a large advisory committee of responsible citizens, but also to the public officials directly concerned, and full opportunity was given for suggestions concerning revision before making the report public. Through the adoption of such a policy the public was given confidence in the accuracy and fairness of the report, and was disposed to put into action the recommendations looking toward improvements in law enforcement. In all these studies the Cleveland Foundation adhered to its original policy of turning over to other agencies the responsibility for putting into effect the recommendations embodied in the survey reports. The outstanding contribution of the

Foundation to the methodology of surveys consists most, perhaps, in its careful attention to publicity designed to win the hearty coöperation of the public. In striking contrast to some of the earlier surveys which relied upon sensational disclosures as a means of attracting public attention, the Cleveland surveys sought in every way possible to inform the people of the methods of investigation, and the purposes in view. Employed specialists carried out the surveys, but the staff of the Foundation assumed responsibility for the publicity campaign which was continued long after the outside specialists had completed their part of the task. Through the consistent use of this policy over a period of years the Cleveland surveys stand out prominently as an important means of securing community action.

The Survey as a Means of Community Organization.—The preceding analysis of the survey movement clearly indicates that it did not grow out of mere academic interest in social investigation. On the contrary its early promoters were social workers and practical men of affairs, genuinely interested in community improvement. Consequently the survey was never regarded as successful unless public opinion was aroused to the point where community action was made possible along lines recommended in the survey report. Its leaders always insisted that the work of the survey had not been completed until its recommendations had been shaped into a community program and arrangements made for putting this program into effect. Since this was the impelling motive behind the survey movement, it was inevitable that it should become an important factor in the field of community organization. As a matter of fact, long before its real significance in this connection was fully realized, it was building up a technique of approach to communities without which the modern community organization movement would have been impossible.

The survey from one point of view may be regarded as an experiment in community organization in which the emphasis is upon diagnosis. In theory, at least, it has insisted

that plans for community action should develop out of a comprehensive knowledge of the whole situation. This introduced a new note into schemes of organization which for the most part had been formulated by a small minority whose experience in a limited field of work had convinced them of the need of a better coördination of effort. The survey, by attempting to collect and present in an orderly manner the essential facts about a community, built up public confidence and consequently increased the number of those interested in bringing about community improvement. It soon came to be recognized, therefore, that this method of approach to community organization was not merely scientific, but had the added advantage of attracting public attention to the reforms that needed to be instituted. Without doubt the sensational disclosures that are made in the course of the investigation as well as the setting up and operation of the fact-gathering organization utilizing, as it frequently does, a large number of people representing various local interests, constitute an unexcelled device for awakening popular interest and creating a state of mind favorable for united action.

The earlier tendency among social surveyors to enter upon a study of a community at the request of a small group of its citizens and carry on their work with a minimum of local assistance, militated, of course, against its usefulness as a means for community improvement. But this tendency even in the early years of the survey movement was not universal, and rapidly gave way to an emphasis upon coöperative efforts. The principle now generally adopted is that the desired results of the survey depend upon getting local people themselves, as far as possible, to discover facts. Outside leaders may be called in to direct the work, but their organization must be built around local workers. This local participation in the survey project through an organization built up for this purpose gives not merely a feeling that it is a local undertaking, but paves the way for a more permanent organization designed to put into effect the recommendations embodied in the sur-

vey report. The general survey committee lends itself readily to a reorganization as a community council or at least is inclined to accept responsibility for promoting the machinery needed for community organization.

The usefulness of the survey as a means for promoting community work has made it inevitable that its technique should be included in the programs of other experiments in community organization. While surveys are still made as independent projects as were the Pittsburgh, Springfield, and Cleveland surveys, they are now most frequently seen as a preliminary part of more or less specialized community undertakings. National organizations, such as the American Red Cross, Playground and Recreation Association of America, and the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, have, to a large extent, utilized the findings of what might be called pathfinder surveys as a basis for originating and developing their local programs. This use of the survey has naturally detracted somewhat from the prestige gained through the more comprehensive and highly technical studies and has brought against it the charge that it is frequently being used for purposes of propaganda. Undoubtedly the survey movement has suffered a certain loss through this wholesale effort to adapt its methods to the service of different organizations, but it has, on the other hand, thereby increased its sphere of influence and attained wide popularity. Among the experiments in community organization, the survey still holds a prominent place, and gives promise of increased usefulness.

Case Histories of Communities.—In connection with the utilization of the social survey as a means of promoting community organization, there has developed within recent years a new type of community study which is concerned more with problems of social organization than with a description of pathological conditions and an evaluation of community agencies and institutions. Instead of setting forth a cross-section of the community at any particular time, as does the usual

social survey, emphasis is placed on the natural history of communities with special reference to what occurs during the process of organization. The theory has been advanced that if we had enough detailed statements of the steps taken in promoting and building up agencies and institutions in various communities much light would be thrown upon the technique and principles of community organization.

This type of community study, which has been called a case history of communities, had its first origin perhaps in semi-popular statements of experiments in community development. Among the first books of this kind were Morse, *Fear God in Your Own Village,* a description of the experience of a Long Island minister as pastor of a small town church and as secretary of a neighborhood association; Dewey, *New Schools for Old,* which contains an account of the socialization of a rural school district in Missouri; and Brunner, *Coöperation at Coopersburg,* where an energetic pastor with a social vision made his church the community center. These and other similar accounts of actual experiences in community work have been of real value to the student of community organization, but their usefulness is limited by the apparent omission of material that might offend members of the communities discussed. *Fear God in Your Own Village* did discuss some prominent people of the community very frankly, and although identification marks were supposedly removed and the book published anonymously, the place and the author were both recognized and considerable offence given. In the other books mentioned the difficult situations that arose in connection with the community program were apparently glossed over or at least the story was so much abridged that many facts significant for a community worker were omitted.

Those interested in giving courses of instruction in community organization were quick to see the teaching value of chronological records of community development and endeavored to secure case histories of communities that would give

the detailed information desired. This involved the production of records describing the steps taken in the organization of community agencies in a sufficient number of different types of places so that generalizations concerning successful and unsuccessful procedure could be made. With records of this kind readily available, the case method of teaching which has proven so successful in many fields of instruction could be applied also in the training of community workers.

The Educational Service of the American Red Cross became interested in the preparation of community records of this kind immediately following the war. Chapter secretaries were requested to keep detailed diaries of their daily activities, and field workers in some instances made careful records of their experiences in reorganizing chapters. Unfortunately further efforts in this direction were discouraged on the ground that publication of such material might offend influential community leaders and therefore prove detrimental to the Red Cross program.

The most consistent progress in the preparation of community case histories has been made under the direction of the Community Organization Department of the New York School of Social Work. At first efforts were made to write up significant community experiments that came to their attention and later a member of the School staff prepared records embodying her own experience as a community worker. *The Community Record of Dale County,* which was issued in mimeographed form in 1923, was one of their first experiments of this kind. The central theme of this record was the reorganization of the county chapter of the Red Cross during a period of eight months. The record is divided into three parts, the first giving a description of the county, the second relating the story of reorganization mainly by means of excerpts from the diary of the chapter secretary, and the third consisting of the later developments under a new secretary who was unable to carry out successfully the program as planned by her predecessor. The writer of the record was

the first-mentioned chapter secretary who came to the county on a temporary appointment of three months during the summer. In the autumn she turned the work over to a new secretary, but returned to Dale County toward the close of the year for a visit which gave her an opportunity to study the later developments, and to write the concluding portions of the record.

While this record had obvious defects of structure, it nevertheless was very readable, and threw a flood of light upon the problems confronting a community organizer. It was a convincing demonstration of the possibilities in this new field of community studies, and a challenge to further efforts in this direction. Without doubt the diagnosis of community conditions must be supplemented by an analysis of the significant events in the progress of the community before it will be possible to arrive at a satisfactory judgment concerning the suitability of a definitely planned community program.

Superficial Surveys for Propaganda Purposes.—As has already been mentioned, there still exists a strong tendency among some organizations to initiate their programs through the use of a brief survey which is likely to be a mere gesture intended to lead to the inevitable conclusion that the community surveyed needs the precise program under consideration. The idea that seems to underlie such a survey is that the mere discovery of evil conditions in a community justifies the application of standardized remedies that have demonstrated their usefulness in other communities where similar conditions apparently existed. While there is a sufficient measure of truth in this assumption to give it popular acceptance, it is somewhat comparable to long out of date methods of social case work where the effort was placed upon classifying the individual or family with reference to the type of problems presented as a preliminary to the routine treatment prescribed for such a case. Now, as is well known, individual diagnosis has made but a mere beginning when it has established the fact of poverty, delinquency, or unemployment.

The life history of the individual must be unfolded, the total situation must be carefully canvassed before a basis for treatment can be reached. The emphasis is upon an understanding of the individual aspects of each case, and is by no means limited to the outstanding problems that have seemed to be the source of the difficulty.

Similarly, in the field of community diagnosis there has been too general a tendency to be satisfied when the more obvious facts of community life have been brought forth. This has led to superficial attempts to classify communities by seizing upon a single characteristic, as, for example, size, location, prevailing industry, outstanding interest, or type of population. The analysis must, of course, be carried much further than this before a classification can be made that will place in the proper perspective the essential characteristics of community life. Valuable and necessary as is this process, it must be recognized as merely a first step in community diagnosis. When the general situation has been studied and the fundamental problems discovered, there still remains the task of looking beneath the surface for the more subtle forces that have determined the course and nature of the development of the community. The natural history of the community, the number and quality of its leaders, the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs of the people, the undercurrents of factional strife, the unity gained through coöperative efforts,—these and similar factors must be studied and evaluated, for they lie at the basis of community action.

If the survey is to be used as a means of securing community action, it is important that it should strike deep into the mainsprings of community life. The popular tendency to utilize a more superficial analysis as a means of launching a program is a dangerous use of the survey movement, and will make it increasingly difficult to convince the public of the value of social investigation.

The Survey as a Tool for Scientific Investigation.—The brief history of the survey movement reveals a gradual change

of emphasis from muck-raking and destructive criticism to constructive program-making. Recently there has been developing a new tendency in the direction of community studies as pure research. This trend in the survey movement has come about through the utilization of the social survey as a research project by social science departments in universities. As long as the survey was fostered by organizations engaged in community enterprises, it was natural that emphasis should be upon its utilitarian aspects. This idea that the survey should be closely related to the building of a community program was apparently held to be fundamental even in the first surveys conducted by personnel from university departments of sociology. Their need for local coöperation in prosecuting such studies and the natural desire to render if possible constructive service doubtless explains in a large measure their acquiescence in this traditional attitude. But with their acquirement of more adequate funds for social research, the universities are tending to conduct independently their own surveys as part of their general work in the field of scientific investigation.

The organization of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Chicago a few years ago, marks a step forward in this impersonal and objective type of community studies. The following titles of studies that have been undertaken by graduate students who are members of this Institute indicate the scope and nature of their investigation of a large city: the determination of natural community areas; the slum as an area of disintegration and reorganization; the natural history of vice areas; the hotel as an index of change in city life; the ecology of the city in relation to politics; case studies of community organization; a study of isolated religious sects; a study of boys' gangs; a study of public opinion in the field of race relations; and a statistical study of social attitudes.

The studies just mentioned, which are carried on as problems in the field of research, nevertheless have their practical

bearing for they make available the knowledge needed as a basis for program-making. Possibly when the field of social research is more highly developed, these highly specialized and strictly objective studies may, to a large extent, make less necessary the use of the social survey as a direct means of promoting community work.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the methods used in the collection and presentation of social facts in such books as Booth's *Darkest England and the Way Out* and Riis' *How the Other Half Lives.*
2. Point out the essential differences in method used by Charles Booth in his survey of London (*Life and Labours of the People of London*) and the Pittsburgh survey.
3. From the point of view of recent trends in community diagnosis, give a critical evaluation of the Springfield survey.
4. What factors essential for the community organizer has the descriptive type of survey tended to overlook?
5. Work out a list of topics that should be included in a thoroughgoing community study.
6. What are the difficulties involved in using the social survey as a means of bringing about community action in the direction of needed improvements?
7. What is the essential rôle of the social survey in the field of community organization?
8. Discuss the value of the community case history to the community organizer. What facts should be included in such a history?
9. Point out the distinction between the fields of social research and the social survey.
10. Outline the steps that should be taken in the organization of a comprehensive study of a community.
11. Give a critical evaluation of the community studies frequently utilized by national organizations as a preparatory step to the organization of local chapters or branches.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH MOVEMENT

The Church and Social Problems.—During the past twenty-five years much has been written concerning the social aspects of Christianity and the place of the church in the solution of social problems. Without doubt the church at the present time is taking more active interest in improving social conditions than it has during any other period of its history. The clergyman of a generation ago could satisfy his conscience by simply denouncing from his pulpit those conditions in his community that were regarded as evil. To-day he must seriously consider the extent to which he will actually participate in movements designed to bring about community improvement. The church which he directs faces many demands to broaden the scope of its activities. No longer can it maintain its former prestige as a guardian of ancient creeds or doctrines. This intellectual basis of the church which once constituted one of its strongest foundation stones seems to occupy a position of decreasing importance and is apparently being supplanted by emphasis upon a more practical religion that finds its expression in service rather than in allegiance to dogma or belief.

The Church as a Social Center.—This trend of the modern church toward social service gained its first real impetus in the work of the so-called institutional churches that were established in the tenement districts of large cities during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The term "institutional church" was probably first used with reference to Berkeley Temple, Boston, one of the early pioneers

in developing an active social program for the people living in its neighborhood.[1] This new type of church represented an attempt to minister in an organized and systematic manner to the social needs of the people. Its early patterns undoubtedly came from the social settlements which originally were connected with churches, but later tended to operate independently of church affiliation. The churches that enlarged their traditional functions by providing playgrounds, opening their rooms to neighborhood gatherings, and establishing classes and clubs for literary, dramatic and educational work, gained popular favor because they were filling a need inadequately performed by the home and society at large. The success of this movement in its early days is seen in the development of such widely known institutional churches as St. Bartholomew's and St. George's of New York City, Baptist Temple of Philadelphia, Lincoln Park Baptist Church of Cincinnati, and Olivet Institute of Chicago. While churches of this type are still operating successfully in congested city neighborhoods, the establishment and rapid expansion of public and private social agencies within recent years have made less indispensable the continued activities of the church in this field. Consequently there is now no marked tendency to increase the number of institutional churches elaborately equipped to operate as a social agency. Nevertheless, the value of the church as a social center has been thoroughly demonstrated and church architecture has apparently been permanently modified to give better facilities to this important function of the church. The modern church plant is no longer thought complete unless it includes a parish house or rooms well equipped for social purposes. Denominational barriers and the development of highly specialized social agencies may make impracticable the community-wide service of the older type of institutional churches located in congested centers of population, but the idea of the church as a social center for its own constituency has

[1] See Bliss, *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, p. 629.

become widely accepted as a necessary factor in religious work.

The Church as a Community Center.—In spite of the many difficulties encountered, the institutional churches in many instances have made thoroughgoing efforts to serve all the people living adjacent to them, regardless of differences in creed, social status, or nationality. Their denominational affiliation has usually been retained, but in some cases at least this has been so little emphasized that people of widely different beliefs are given a ready welcome. A notable example is the Woodland Avenue Presbyterian Church of Cleveland, which is located in the midst of one of the congested foreign sections of that city. This church frankly regards itself as a community agency and gives representation upon its general administrative committee to members of the community regardless of creed or race. The platform of this church, or Woodland Center as it is called, states that the purpose of its community activities is to meet the needs of the community rather than to build up the church itself. Its rooms are thrown open to neighborhood groups and meetings, and have sheltered such diverse groups as negro fraternal organizations, members of Jewish synagogues, Russian dramatic societies, and Czecho-Slovaks in their patriotic rallies.[2]

Olivet Institute of Chicago is another illustration of an institutional church serving as a community center in so far as this is possible in a densely populated section of a large city. It is estimated that there are 25,000 people, mostly Sicilians, Italians, and Hungarians, living within a half-mile radius of the church which is the only English-speaking Protestant church in that locality. While it is Presbyterian in its denominational affiliation, it attempts to serve the entire community regardless of religious differences and has various denominations represented on its staff of workers. In its educational, relief, and religious departments is found a wide

[2] Hayden, "The Church and its Relationship to Community Social Life," *National Conference Social Work*, 1922, pp. 322-27.

diversity of organizations that attract people of various nationalities and creeds, and fill an important place in the life of that heterogeneous city community.[3]

The complicated nature of city life and the heterogeneity of the people with their widely different religious beliefs make it especially difficult for the city church to establish itself on a sufficiently broad basis to make a community-wide appeal. The more simple social situation of the small town and open country seems to offer more favorable ground for the development of the church as a community center, but as yet the community church movement has made comparatively little headway in these smaller centers of population. The reason for this is found largely in the multiplicity of churches and the strong barrier of denominationalism so characteristic of small communities. Where these difficulties can be overcome, the community church is in a strategic position of leadership that gives it unusual influence.

The conditions most favorable for the establishment of the community church are found in the older type of small religious communities the majority of whose citizens are adherents of a single sect or denomination. An example of a community of this kind is the Pennsylvania Dutch Dunkers Settlement in Orange township near Waterloo, Iowa. In this homogeneous community characterized by strong religious interest all have been able to unite in the support of a single church and naturally have tended to give it a central place in their community life. Dr. Gillin's description of this church written in 1910 gives a vivid picture of the nature and extent of its activities at that time:

"When the people of other country communities were flocking to town by hundreds, the youth of that community were gathering, in response to plans well thought out beforehand, to the church grounds where patriotic songs were sung, games were played, a picnic dinner was served, and a general good time was provided for the young. They have also arranged that their young people have a place to come to on Sunday nights where they can meet their friends. The elders look to

[3] Zumbrunnen, *The Community Church*, pp. 113-119.

it that provisions are made for the gathering of the young people on Sunday so that they shall 'have a good time,' with due arrangements for the boys and girls to get together under proper conditions for their love-making. Even their church 'love feasts,' held twice a year, are also neighborhood gatherings for the young people. The church is the center of everything. 'Is a farmer's institute to be held in the community, or a teachers' institute? The church until very recently was open to it. Is a farm to rent or for sale? At once the leaders get busy with the mail and soon a family from the East is on their way to take it. This country church has not remained strong and dominant in the community just by accident or even by federation. It has survived because it had wise leaders who have met the changes with new devices to attract the interest of the community and make the church serve the community in all its affairs, but especially on the social side. . . . It looks after their interests, not only for the hereafter, but here and now. Under its fostering care they form their life attachments, it provides for their social pleasures, it is the center to which they come to discuss their farming affairs or whatever interests them. And in spite of the fact that the preaching has little contact with life and its interests, so strong is the social spirit that the preaching can be left out of account. What could be accomplished were the preaching as consciously directed to forwarding the social interests of the community one can only speculate.'"[4]

This type of religious community which has just been described is by no means representative of American communities. On the contrary, there is usually found a diversity of religious beliefs, with the result that more churches are established than the people are able to support. Under such circumstances the development of a community church presents unusual difficulties. So great, in fact, are the barriers interposed by denominationalism that where a community church proves successful its explanation is usually found in the high quality of its leadership or in the existence of factors specially favorable to this form of coöperative effort.

The Kirkpatrick Memorial Community Church of Parma, Idaho, affords a good illustration of the possibility of building a church with a community-wide appeal in a small town situation where there exists the usual diversity of denomina-

[4] Gillin, "The Church and the Rural Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, 16 : 700.

tional preferences. In the early days of this small frontier community various denominations made unsuccessful efforts to establish churches. The idea of a union church was not looked upon favorably because the people realized the necessity of the assistance that could be secured from a denominational church board. Finally an influential group in the community agreed upon a Presbyterian church, largely because it represented a denomination over which no local struggle for supremacy had been waged. From the start it was recognized that this was to be a community church in which strict denominational lines were not to be drawn. Evidence of this is seen in the fact that the church building was equipped with a baptistry. The new church plant, built in 1920, includes besides a community house a well-planned church building with a large auditorium, classrooms, dining room, and kitchen, all completely furnished and available for community gatherings. Farm meetings, lyceum lecture courses, and the Chautauqua are held in the auditorium, while the community house serves as the recreational center. The latter is equipped with a gymnasium, bowling alley, clubrooms for boys and girls, public library, radio rooms, and general assembly room. So well has this church plant served the needs of the community that, with the exception of a small Catholic church and a small group of Nazarenes, no rival religious organizations have been established. Representatives of sixteen denominations are found among its four hundred members. Since Parma village and the territory immediately adjacent to it has a population of only slightly more than one thousand, the building of such a progressive and well-supported church stands out as a notable achievement. The spirit of coöperation, which has made possible the success of this community church, is perhaps at least partially explained by the people's development of an irrigation project that turned their land from a desert waste into fertile farms. Through coöperation water was brought into a region that had formerly been looked upon as worthless. This lesson in

the value of coöperative effort, together with the leadership of a few broadminded men, seemed sufficient to bring about a desire for unity seldom found in communities of that size.[5]

Types of Community Churches.—The community church movement may be characterized as a definite trend in the direction of a unified effort on the part of the religious forces of a community to deal more effectively with community affairs. Strictly speaking, the term community church is applied to a church that has the whole community for its parish and is organized for the distinct purpose of ministering to the needs of all the people irrespective of their denominational preferences. In actual practice few churches of this exact type can be found, and it is therefore customary to include in the community church movement many church organizations that only approximate this ideal. The chief factor in all cases is the attitude of the church toward the problem of its community relationships. A church that emphasizes its denominational interests instead of direct participation in general community activities would not be regarded as a community church, even though it were the only church in the community. On the other hand, a church that stands out in the community because of its leadership in the promotion of community welfare might well be called a community church, in spite of the fact that other denominational churches are at work in the same locality.

In the attempt to carry out the purposes of the community church movement, several different methods may be distinguished. One of the most effective methods from the point of view of securing results is where the church operates indirectly through a community organization which it has been instrumental in promoting. Such instances usually occur where a pastor has keen interest in community work and realizes that more effective results can be obtained by creating an organization independent of church control. An example is found at Coopersburg, Pennsylvania, where under

[5] Brunner, *Churches of Distinction in Town and Country*, pp. 17-41.

the leadership of one of the churches a Neighborhood Association was formed which became a prominent factor in improving community conditions.[6] A somewhat similar case occurred at Locust Valley, New York, where the local church secured a minister who also served as executive secretary of the Neighborhood Association. In this instance, both organizations being under the same direction were able to work together to mutual advantage although their respective fields of work were entirely separate.[7]

Another type of work included in the community church movement is the federated church. In a church of this kind each constituent ecclesiastical group maintains its own identity and meets its denominational obligations outside of the community but unites in church services and other local activities. Such a plan makes available to all concerned the customary contacts with the state and national church organizations and at the same time combines their resources in the development of their local work. The experience thus far with federated churches has shown a marked tendency toward the breakdown of their original denominational loyalties. Through constant meeting together in church worship where doctrinal differences are not emphasized, the spirit of unity is developed and denominational allegiance gradually assumes less importance. For this reason those interested in denominational growth are not inclined to look favorably upon the federated church. Nevertheless, a church of this type seems admirably adapted to the needs of the small overchurched community and may be the logical step in the direction of church unity.

The union church represents a still more radical attempt to build up a church organization adapted to the needs of the entire community. This type of church is independent of all ecclesiastical organizations. From one point of view the union church is a protest of the people against denominational com-

[6] Brunner, *Coöperation in Coopersburg.*
[7] Morse, *Fear God in Your Own Village.*

petition. In some communities, it represents the only feasible method of establishing a church large enough to be self-supporting. Where this is brought about by the union of two or more churches that give up their denominational affiliations, it gives practical evidence of the decreasing importance of the traditional barriers to church unity. In a few states these union churches have become sufficiently numerous to bring about the development of a state organization. If this tendency continues and eventually a national organization is formed, the union church may become, in fact, a new denomination and thus defeat its original purpose.

Limitations of the Community Church Movement.—Among the serious drawbacks to the community church movement, the following are, perhaps, most responsible for its failure to make more rapid progress.

A. Denominationalism. One of the chief barriers to the leadership of the church in community work is the wide divergence in religious beliefs. In communities where there are Jews, Protestants, and Catholics, the deep-seated differences that characterize these groups make the church an impracticable basis for coöperative effort. When we turn our attention to communities made up chiefly of Protestants, the situation is even more complicated, for the divisions are large in number as well as securely entrenched. We have no evidence that even the large and well-established Protestant denominations are ready to unite their forces in the interests of the community church movement. And as far as the newer sects and smaller divisions are concerned, they maintain a militant attitude, and constantly seem to be increasing in number if not in power. In the large cities these religious differences may not greatly interfere with the use of the church as a community center, provided it has a constituency sufficient to give it support. The heterogeneous character of the population of a congested city community makes it impracticable for any single center to meet all the needs of those living adjacent to it. The associations of city life must be

largely on a selective rather than on a neighborhood basis, and consequently the divisions of the church, provided they are not too numerous or provocative of factional strife, may be a necessary adaptation to the heterogeneity of city life.

But in the small town and open country the situation is quite different, for a small number of people cannot support a large number of institutions. Unfortunately diversities in faith and belief seem as strongly characteristic of sparsely settled communities as of congested centers of population. For this reason, denominational churches have multiplied in small communities far beyond the power of the people to give them adequate support. In addition, these religious differences are deeply rooted in the traditions and habits of the people, and appear too vital to be given up. Under these circumstances the ideal of the community church can be realized only in exceptional communities where for some reason denominational lines are not so strongly drawn. As far as it now appears, denominationalism occupies too prominent a place in the religious world, and especially in the small town and open country to give much promise for the development of community churches.

B. Lack of Adequately Equipped Leadership. Where the community church has succeeded it has had the leadership of men fitted to do work of that kind. The traditional course of training in a theological school makes little or no provision for instruction in community work. Emphasis upon denominational doctrines and methods of work is usually given first place, and tends to develop an attitude of mind unfavorable for coöperation with those who hold to different religious beliefs. This situation, it is true, is gradually changing, especially in the larger and better equipped theological schools of the more progressive denominations. Courses of training designed to give a social vision and opportunities to participate in the activities of community churches are in some places considered a necessary part of training for the ministry. But the rank and file of the ministers now in

charge of churches in the smaller cities and towns and rural communities do not possess the training and experience that would qualify them for leadership in community churches. At long as this fact remains true, the community church movement is not likely to occupy a very prominent place in the field of community organization.

C. Narrow Conception of the Function of the Church. In spite of the progress that has been made in securing recognition of the social implications of Christianity, many still believe that the work of the church should be strictly limited to spiritual matters. The present trend of the church in the direction of more active participation in community activities is looked upon by the more conservative with great disfavor. From their point of view this emphasis upon community work is turning the church into a social club or at least, is weakening its power as a religious force. There is by no means general agreement among church adherents that the community church movement is sound either in policy or in method.

Many outside the church, and especially those who happen to be interested in the work of social service agencies, are also inclined to criticize the church for invading this broader field of work. Sometimes their criticism is aimed at the inadequate methods of the church or the common tendency to place such work on a sentimental rather than on a strictly technical basis. It must be recognized that when the church enters the field of community work, it becomes in a measure a competitor of secular agencies. To some this appears to be unnecessary duplication which makes more complicated the problem of community organization. In their opinion the church should confine itself to its traditional functions and leave the promotion of community welfare to agencies organized specially for that purpose.

The Significance of the Community Church Movement.—While the problems faced by the community church movement seem almost insurmountable, the progress thus far

made in the federation and organic union of churches represents one of the notable achievements in community organization. Probably in no other phase of community life are found such difficulties of coördination as exist in the field of religious organization. In all matters pertaining to religion, prejudices run deep, and issues at stake seem too vital to lend themselves to compromise. Community councils established for the purpose of bringing about greater unity of action in community life have usually stopped short of dealing with the duplication of religious effort. It has remained for the churches themselves to attack this problem and point the way toward its solution.

The community church movement, without doubt, is a part of the widespread effort on the part of communities to reorganize their agencies and institutions on a more efficient basis. The waste, inefficiency, and factional strife that have been an inevitable accompaniment of sectarian divisions have left their blighting effect on many communities. It is highly significant that it is on the basis of community service that it seems possible to bring about church unity. Wherever denominational barriers are broken down and community churches are established, emphasis upon creed and dogma gives place to activities in the interest of community welfare. The fact that this concept of service, which is the binding force in this new church coöperation, is so closely in accord with religious ideals, gives promise that this movement is fundamentally sound. In spite of the slowness with which results are being accomplished in some quarters, the trend toward greater unity appears to be inevitable.

Those at work in the field of community organization have long looked upon the church, split up into many divisions, as one of the chief obstacles to the building up of a united community. The examples that we now have of community churches indicate not merely how the problem of multiplicity of churches may be solved, but seem to point to the develop-

ment of an influential community agency which would serve as a natural center for the people, and at the same time furnish the motive power for further coöperative undertakings.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What is the distinction between the older idea of the institutional church and the more recent community church movement?
2. Make a study of an institutional church and describe its methods of work.
3. What have been the chief difficulties that have interfered with the development of community churches?
4. Describe the different types of experiments designed to promote a better coördination of the religious forces of a community.
5. In an era of specialized social service agencies, is there adequate reason for the entrance of the church into the field of community work?
6. What is the real significance of the community church movement?
7. What lessons for the community organizer can be gained through a study of Morse, *Fear God in Your Own Village?*
8. Does the goal of community organization include the reorganization of the churches of a community on a more efficient basis?
9. If the difficulty of denominationalism could be overcome, would the church be a suitable center around which to organize the community?
10. Give illustrations of successful community churches. In what types of communities are community churches more likely to succeed?
11. Does the method of church federation seem to offer a satisfactory solution of the problem of coördination of city churches?

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CHAPTER XIV

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

Changing Status of the Red Cross.—Prior to the World War the American Red Cross was not regarded as an agency equipped for leadership in community activities. Its new charter received from Congress in 1905 outlined its duties as an emergency organization designed to furnish volunteer service to the sick and wounded in time of war, and to mitigate the sufferings caused by disasters and other natural calamities in time of peace. In order to maintain a state of preparedness for its war-time obligations as well as its disaster relief, local chapters were organized at strategic points throughout the country. These chapters were few in number, and except in time of disaster seldom attempted more than the promotion of public health nursing and the organization of classes for health instruction. During the early years of the Red Cross in this country, it was thought of as a national and not as a local organization. All its chapter activities including its disaster relief, were carried out in accordance with a carefully prescribed national policy. The chapters were merely an extension of the national headquarters, and were intended to strengthen the national organization rather than to assume leadership in the development of local communities.

In striking contrast to this early status of the Red Cross is the prominent place this organization now holds in the field of community work. Whether judged from the point of view of its varied community activities, the number of its active chapters, or the amount of money expended in its local work, it easily stands in the first rank of community agencies if it

does not outdistance all competitors. All this has been achieved during less than a decade through a wise use of the momentum gained by its war activities. Forced by the exigencies of the war situation to organize chapters in practically every county in the United States and to turn over to these chapters responsibility for their share of the Red Cross program, the national organization at the close of the World War found itself facing a situation that made it practically impossible to return to its previous status. The activities of hundreds of chapters in the field of Home Service had been a convincing demonstration of the part the Red Cross could take in community betterment. While in some communities a certain number of chapters were quite willing to become inactive, the vast majority insisted upon continuing their work and gradually modified their program to fit in with peace-time conditions. In 1924 more than three thousand chapters were on the active list, and at least one thousand of these were rendering services of a nature that gave them an important place among other community agencies.

General Plan of Organization.—Since the American Red Cross was established primarily as a war relief agency and operates under a charter received from Congress, which clearly defines its duties and outlines its general plan of organization, it differs radically from all other voluntary agencies at work in this country. The fact that it operates under government supervision, and must hold itself in readiness for prompt and effective service in time of war or disaster, has made inevitable a rigid type of organization that does not always adapt itself easily to new conditions and to changing conceptions of service. The entire control, management and administration of the affairs of the Red Cross are vested in the Central Committee, which consists of eighteen members, six of whom are elected by the Incorporators, six appointed by the President of the United States, and six elected by Chapter delegates. The Chairman of the Central Committee is the executive head of the corporation and is

assisted in his administrative duties by two Vice-Chairmen, one in charge of domestic operations, and the other in charge of foreign operations. Under this plan of organization, the membership has a certain degree of representation, but can not control the formulation of national policies.

The membership of the Red Cross is organized into local chapters which generally have jurisdiction over an entire county unless the local situation makes a county unit impracticable. The chapter covers the territory assigned to it through the organization of branches and auxiliaries whose members do their work solely under chapter direction. According to the original plan of organization, the chapters report directly to national headquarters and receive from this source general oversight and direction of their work. At the time of America's entrance into the World War the procedure was modified by the initiation of a policy of decentralization which included the establishment of fourteen Division offices. Over each Division was a Division Manager who was responsible during the war to the General Manager and later to the Vice-Chairman in charge of Domestic Operations. The chapter chairmen in their turn were similarly held responsible to the manager of the Division within whose jurisdiction they were located. The retrenchment following the war brought about the reduction of the Divisions to six in number and culminated in 1925 in the abolition of the entire divisional organization. In order to facilitate contacts with chapters in the more distant sections of the country, branches of national headquarters are maintained at St. Louis and San Francisco. This return to the pre-war type of organization was in the interests of economy and efficiency of administration, and in no way indicated any tendencies toward greater centralization of control. Within the scope of Red Cross work, the chapter has autonomy in the choice of its program with such direction and advice from national headquarters in the making of decisions and the maintenance of standards as may be necessary. This oversight of chap-

ter activities is by no means nominal. Correspondence, visits of field representatives and the requirement that the chapter submit official reports to national headquarters make it possible for the national organization to keep in close touch with all its local units. During the year ending June 30, 1924, the national organization expended more than one million dollars in service to the 3,500 Red Cross chapters and their branches.

The plan for financing the organization calls for annual membership fees, 50 per cent of which belongs to the local chapter, and the remainder is turned over to national headquarters. The chapter except in certain emergencies finances its own activities.

Development of Home Service.—The profound change that has taken place in the public's attitude toward humanitarian work during the past generation is nowhere more clearly indicated than in the enlarged program of the Red Cross in connection with its World War activities. The prompt assumption of responsibility by the Red Cross for the welfare of soldiers' families was regarded by the public as in line with sound policy, although no precedent for such action could be found in the past. The name, Home Service, which was given to this new phase of Red Cross work made a strong popular appeal largely because the activities for which it stood had become familiar to the people through their support of social work undertakings. When the War Department officially endorsed this service on the ground that it would strengthen the morale of the fighting men, nothing further was needed to give it prestige and active popular support.

The first Home Service sections of chapters were organized early in 1917 and increased rapidly in number until practically every county in the whole country was equipped for this work. As far as possible experienced social workers were placed in charge of these Home Service sections and additional workers were secured through training courses specially established for this purpose. In order to insure a high

standard of work detailed instructions were issued by the Department of Civilian Relief of national headquarters and field visits were made by representatives from the division offices. The far-reaching extent of Home Service activities during and immediately following the war, appear from the fact that approximately $20,000,000 was spent by Red Cross chapters in carrying on this phase of their work. According to the annual report of the Red Cross for 1920 there were seven million instances in which trained workers or laymen under trained supervision, gave financial aid, advice or information; help in securing medical, surgical, dental, or nursing attention; legal advice covering real estate, insurance, delinquency, and other problems; secured employment and better housing, and generally improved standards of living.

During the war the varied activities of the Red Cross chapters in providing funds and materials to meet the emergencies growing out of the military situation overshadowed somewhat the less spectacular work of the Home Service sections. But with the cessation of Red Cross chapter production following the war, the continued Home Service activities stood out more prominently, and their significance became increasingly apparent. When the fact is further considered that Home Service both in the national and divisional offices as well as in the chapters had drawn together a large number of the best equipped social workers in the country, it is not surprising that this group within the organization should exert a profound influence upon Red Cross policy. The decision to extend Home Service to civilian families, which step was taken in 1919, was largely brought about in response to the insistent demand of this group of experienced social workers who saw the advantage of utilizing the war momentum in making the Red Cross of permanent service in the communities where it had been established. From the first, great care was taken to avoid the duplication of work of a similar nature already going on in a community, and there

was full recognition of the difficulty of maintaining proper standards of service especially in the smaller chapters. In accordance with the policy adopted by the Central Committee of the Red Cross in 1922, chapters are authorized to extend Home Service to civilian families only when it can be shown that lack of other agencies makes plainly evident the need for this work. Before such permission is granted, the National Headquarters must receive assurance that the chapter is able to finance the undertaking, and has provided skilled personnel competent to maintain the standards of work set up in this field. It is assumed also that the chapter will endeavor to turn this phase of its work over to other organizations in the community as soon as practicable.[1]

At the end of the fiscal year 1922, 742 chapters were engaged in civilian Home Service. During the following year permission to continue in this service was withdrawn from 230 chapters, and authorization to enter this field was extended to 85 chapters. While this brought about a marked decrease in the number of chapters engaged in this activity, it indicates the care being taken by the Red Cross to maintain high standards of service. According to the annual report of the Red Cross for the year 1924, 619 chapters were actively at work in the field of Home Service.

Entrance into Community Work.—Home Service as it has been carried on during the past eight years represents an unusually daring experiment in the promotion of community work because it was organized in hundreds of small towns and rural communities which hitherto had given no evidence of interest in dealing with their social problems. Even during the war the Red Cross was criticized for undertaking this stupendous task which involved the extension of social work far in excess of the available supply of workers trained in this field. The crucial question, however, was whether this far-reaching experiment should continue after the war emergency had passed. Obviously there was no special need for the

[1] *Annual Report of the American Red Cross*, 1923, p. 19.

Red Cross to maintain its Home Service program in the larger centers where social work had long been well established. The only fields, therefore, that were available for continued Home Service were the more sparsely settled districts where well-equipped community agencies were lacking. That the Red Cross had a real opportunity in this comparatively unoccupied territory all agreed, but considerable doubt was expressed as to the advisability of encouraging chapters to maintain Home Service in places where it would be exceedingly difficult to ensure proper standards. The willingness of the Red Cross to accept responsibility in this unpromising field in the face of considerable opposition on the part of other organizations, stands out as one of its notable post-war achievements.

Although Home Service is primarily concerned with the welfare of individual families, work of this kind especially in the smaller places is inseparable from the larger problems of community development. Questions concerning community facilities and resources are constantly arising in connection with efforts to improve family situations. Through its Home Service work, the Red Cross chapter of necessity became interested in problems of community organization, and frequently was so favorably situated that it could assume leadership in bringing about a better coördination of community agencies.

In the development of this community work the Red Cross was aided not merely by its war momentum, but even more by the fact that the majority of the chapters had unexpended balances of their war funds. This money in many cases made possible the employment of skilled social workers as chapter secretaries, who had an opportunity to demonstrate the need and value of community work in places where money for this particular purpose could not have been otherwise secured. This fact helps to explain why the Red Cross chapter succeeded in communities where other agencies had previously failed. The organization had available in chapter

treasuries millions of dollars that could be used for demonstration purposes. Under the stimulation of field representatives many chapters were persuaded to use their accumulated funds in this way, thus making possible the development of chapter programs designed to meet obvious community needs. In some cases the chapter's activities ceased as soon as these funds were exhausted. In other places the demonstration proved successful, and the chapter was given a permanent place among the other community agencies. The success of the Red Cross in getting a secure foothold in many of the sparsely settled and less highly developed counties is one of the most encouraging of recent developments in the field of community work.

The County Plan of Organization.—During the past decade there has been a growing recognition of the value of the county as an administration unit in community work. Prior to the outbreak of the World War, several important steps had been taken in this direction, notably the county plan of organization of the New York State Charities Aid Association which was one of the pioneers in this field. Other examples were the Iowa experiments in county organization, the county departments of public welfare in Missouri and North Carolina, and the county work of the Young Men's Christian Association.

To the Red Cross, however, must be given credit for the first wide-reaching experiment in this type of organization. Early in 1917 when Red Cross chapters were established throughout the entire country, the policy of giving chapters county jurisdiction was followed in all cases where this was practicable. In some states, as in Michigan and Indiana, all the chapters were organized on a county basis; in others, as for example, Illinois, the county plan of organization could not always be maintained because of rivalries between towns and cities. This widespread use of the Red Cross of the county as an administrative unit has been the most extensive test that has been given to this type of organization. On

the whole, Red Cross experience has shown that the county is a suitable unit for the administration of a community program except perhaps in those counties where the larger cities are located. There are, however, certain difficulties growing out of the topography of some counties, as, for example, when a river or a mountain range splits the county into separate units. Inadequacy of transportation, also, caused by inconvenient railway lines and poorly constructed highways frequently interferes with the efficient operation of a county chapter. In general the Red Cross has tended to ignore difficulties of this kind largely because of its desire to develop a unit large enough to give financial support to its program. If the Red Cross had endeavored to unite in one chapter only those who could conveniently meet together, it would have been in the position of many other agencies that have tried to organize their work on a community basis. One of the sources of strength of the Red Cross chapter is its use of a commonly accepted political unit, which ordinarily includes enough people to provide the needed support. The ingenious device of organizing the various communities of the county into branches, which in general are replicas of the parent chapter, is a distinctive contribution of the Red Cross which might well be copied by other agencies engaged in county-wide work.

It must, of course, be recognized that where an organization attempts to cover a whole county with insufficient personnel, the county jurisdiction is likely to be more nominal than real. Many Red Cross county chapters largely confine their operations to the city in which the headquarters are located, and to a few of the more accessible towns. Nevertheless the acceptance of responsibility for the entire county seems to be the most feasible way of reaching the small towns and rural communities and therefore may well be regarded as a goal toward which the organization should work.

Experiments in Rural Organization.—Theoretically, the plan of organization with headquarters at the county seat and branches in the more important communities within the

chapter jurisdiction provides excellent machinery for rural community work. In practice, the lack of sufficient personnel, difficulties of transportation, and the general indifference of the rural people concerning their social problems have prevented the Red Cross from taking full advantage of its unique opportunity. Some energetic attempts have been made to carry the Red Cross program into the country districts, but this phase of Red Cross work has by no means measured up to what might reasonably have been expected from an organization so favorably situated for rural work. One outstanding experiment in rural organization to which wide publicity has been given was that carried on under the auspices of the Clark County, Ohio, Chapter during the years 1919-1920. In the spring of 1919, the board of directors of this chapter called a conference to discuss the advisability of adopting a peace-time program. Among those present at this conference were representatives from the chapter's branches and auxiliaries located in the rural sections, who urged that the chapter give them assistance in improving conditions in rural and small town communities. Since there were sufficient funds in the chapter treasury to finance a two-year demonstration program, a rural community organizer was employed by the chapter to initiate and develop a comprehensive plan of rural organization. This experiment had the advantage of unusually able leadership, which, to a considerable extent, explains the successful results attained. The following brief accounts of the organization of two communities illustrate the type of work that was undertaken:

"In the Community of E, several years ago an organization calling itself a community club was worked out by local leaders. For a while it flourished and then lagged. When the Clark County program of rural service was being promoted in neighboring communities, a few leaders at E asked for help in reviving their community club. Considerable difference of opinion on local matters had arisen and needed but some outside factor to stimulate a new unity. To the first call for a community rally almost four hundred citizens responded and surprised by two hundred the most optimistic of the local leaders. The whole situa-

tion was discussed and possibilities of community coöperation were set forth. The community responded and during its next year equipped a fine playground, supported a lyceum course, a horse-and-corn exhibit, put a winning baseball team into the county league, conducted a successful clean-up day, revived a local orchestra, and is now transforming the unused town jail into an attractive community house.

"In another village, F, with a population of about fifty, a store, and a church, the Red Cross help was desired. At the first rally on a rainy Monday night, in the church, some one hundred and fifty were present out of interest and curiosity. The usual program was given. There were present a half-dozen or so of children who had never seen a moving picture. Several men volunteered the information that they came to the church only on one or two special occasions annually, but were now attracted because of a possibility that the church would become interested in the whole community life. What a bitter disappointment when several of the dozen who attended church regularly there protested against the use of the church as a place to discuss street lighting or exhibit stereopticon pictures of any country save the Holy Land. The matter of organization was tabled for the present. However, the idea could not be deported. A few of the influential men and women talked community coöperation on every possible occasion. Finally the protests against use of the church building were withdrawn and the community organized. A schedule of monthly programs, using home talent largely, was outlined for the regular get-together. An abandoned schoolhouse has been secured, reseated, lighted, and made attractive as a recreation center for the whole community."[2]

Like many other experiments of this nature, the chief problem is not how to get immediate results, but how to put the work on a permanent basis. As would be expected, this rural organization work declined as soon as the chapter's energetic leader went to another position and the chapter's funds were depleted. Even during the height of the success of this experiment, criticisms were aimed against it on the ground that this wide-reaching community work was under the control of a single agency. Other organizations that had interests at stake in these communities naturally desired a voice in the determination of policies, and it is doubtful if this work could have been carried out permanently unless a coöperative plan had been developed in which the more

[2] *Proceedings of the National Country Life Conference*, 1920, p. 100.

important county agencies had representation. In theory such a county council is highly desirable, but the organization responsible for the initiation and financing of the program is likely to lose its enthusiasm for the undertaking as soon as the control passes out of its hands. It is here that we find one of the most serious difficulties that stand in the way of successful rural organization, a difficulty that to a considerable extent explains why the Red Cross has suffered many disappointments in its rural program.

Community Building Through Disaster Relief.—The activities of the Red Cross in connection with its disaster relief constitute a significant phase of its work in the field of community organization. The extent of its work of this kind is indicated by the fact that during the fiscal year 1924 the national organization appropriated funds and rendered assistance in 43 disasters in the United States. These disasters resulted in the death of 565 persons, injuries to 1,862, and estimated property loss of $434,000,000. There were, in addition, many less extensive disasters where the local Red Cross chapter furnished relief without calling upon the national organization.

While the national organization in accord with its general administrative policy is ultimately responsible for all major disaster relief operations, suitable machinery for emergency relief is set up in every well-organized chapter so that it may be prepared to act without delay in time of need. This preparedness includes not merely a disaster relief committee with appropriate sub-committees, but also a survey of local resources and a plan for quickly mobilizing any aid that may be required. When in addition to these local facilities for handling disasters, there is included the financial aid and trained personnel available from national headquarters, it is apparent that the Red Cross is in an unusually strategic position to provide the leadership needed in such emergencies. The following account of disaster relief in Mitchell County, Texas, illustrates both the nature of this work and the

procedure adopted by the Red Cross in handling such situations:

"About three o'clock on the morning of May 14, 1923, a cyclone cloud formed in one corner of the county and within a few minutes it had torn its way across the county, leaving a trail of death and destruction behind it. Every house in the path of the cyclone was destroyed. Trees and crops were torn out and carried for miles. An area 35 miles long and varying from one to seven miles in width was destroyed. Twenty-seven persons were killed and 193 were injured. As the cyclone did not strike any town, the disaster sufferers were all farmers and their families.

"Within 30 minutes of the time of the disaster news had reached Colorado City, the county seat, the Mitchell County Chapter Chairman was organizing his forces for relief. As rapidly as possible automobiles were assembled and all available local medical and nursing personnel rushed to the disaster zone to render First Aid to the injured. At the same time the Chapter Chairman organized search squads who covered the entire devastated area searching for dead and injured. Red Cross Chapters in nearby counties assembled medical and nursing personnel and rushed them to the disaster zone. While directing these operations the Chapter Chairman was arranging for the establishment of an emergency hospital in one of the churches in Colorado City, with the result that within three hours after the cyclone struck, a well equipped emergency hospital had been fitted up and all was ready to take care of the injured. By evening the entire devastated area had been completely covered by the search squads; the dead had been assembled in a temporary morgue; the injured were being properly taken care of in the emergency hospital, and the non-injured disaster sufferers, numbering approximately 300, had received necessary shelter, clothing and food.

"As soon as news of the disaster reached the Division Office at St. Louis the Director of Disaster Relief was rushed to the scene to offer the assistance of the National Organization. Upon his arrival he found that the citizens of the entire community had organized themselves by setting up a county-wide relief administration, which functioned through the Mitchell County Relief Committee, in charge of all the relief work. A meeting of this Relief Committee, the Chapter Executive Committee and many prominent citizens of the county was held, and as a result a resolution was unanimously passed requesting the Red Cross to assume direction of relief operations. The Relief Committee disbanded and by resolution of the meeting was reorganized as the Mitchell County Red Cross Advisory Committee. This Committee functioned in coöperation with the Director throughout the entire relief operations.

"As the outstanding need was medical and nursing service to the large number of injured, the Red Cross Representative concentrated on this feature of the work. The Emergency Hospital was completely standardized according to Red Cross standards; a supervising nurse was placed in charge and physicians were on duty day and night. A staff of Red Cross Nurses was rushed to the area and assigned to duty in the emergency hopital and in private homes where patients were too dangerously injured to be transported to the emergency hospital. All together twelve nurses were assigned to duty. Physicians were placed on duty on an itinerant basis for the patients in private homes, and as indicated above, two physicians were on duty continuously day and night at the emergency hospital. An up-to-date and completely equipped operating room was arranged for and a number of major and minor operations were successfully performed.

"When arrangements for taking care of the injured had been completed, plans were set up for the introduction of the Red Cross family rehabilitation service. Two trained disaster family case workers were assigned to the work and relief headquarters was established at Colorado City. The customary family case work was performed, the workers visiting all families and recording their losses, needs, etc. The family case work was necessarily made much more complicated because of the fact that so many members of families had been either killed or injured. New life plans had to be laid for many families. The entire future for many of the widows and orphans had to be taken into consideration in the family case plans.

"As soon as a plan had been developed in coöperation with the family, the Advisory Committee met and took the plan into consideration and, if approved, passed an award for the carrying out of the plan. The awards included furniture, clothing, farm implements, live stock, feed and seed, maintenance, etc. As the work progressed it was seen that there would be enough money in the relief fund to assist some of the disaster sufferers in rebuilding their homes, so a rebuilding program was commenced. A number of houses that were completely destroyed were rebuilt and some of those partially destroyed were repaired. In this department, as in all others, the Red Cross based its award upon the needs of the family. The medical and nursing service to the injured, and the family rehabilitation work were so coöordinated that by the time the injured were ready to return to their homes, the homes were rebuilt, refurnished and everything ready for them to start life anew.

"Another unusual service that was rendered by the local chapter was the replanting of the cotton fields. The cyclone had completely destroyed every field of cotton in its path and it was imperative that the cotton be replanted within a week in order to make a crop. The Chapter Chairman

and his associates immediately organized a team of volunteer men, 350 in number, and on the third day after the disaster this large force of volunteers under the direction of the chapter commenced the tremendous task of clearing the devastated area and replanting cotton. In less than a week these men, working day and night, had completed the gigantic task, with the result that every acre of cotton land destroyed by the cyclone was replanted free of all charge to the disaster sufferer.''[3]

What makes disaster relief peculiarly significant from the point of view of community organization, is the fact that the people of a community in time of disaster are in a state of mind favorable to social change. As has been pointed out in the discussion of community conservatism, the storm and stress of critical situations tend to break down old habits and concentrate attention upon more appropriate methods of adjustment. It is this fact that places upon disaster relief organization an unique responsibility that extends far beyond the giving of emergency relief or even the rehabilitation of stricken families. If properly carried out, the methods used in organizing relief become a spectacular demonstration of the value of well-equipped social agencies. The necessity of coördinating local efforts in emergency relief can be made to pave the way for permanent work in community organization. Constructive suggestions of experienced social workers can lead to the formulation of plans for permanent community improvement. The results that followed the Halifax disaster, as described by Prince, deserve consideration in this connection.

''Progress in coöperation has also to be noticed. There has been a new sense of unity in dealing with common problems. The number of things which perforce had to be done together during the catastrophe was great. . . . The establishment of the Halifax Coöperative Society is initial evidence of a movement toward coöperative buying. Coöperation for community ends even now is revealing itself in the new interest for the common control of recreation, health conditions, etc. . . . The organization of social service which only a few years back took a beginning in the form of an unpretentious bureau has shot ahead with amaz-

[3] "The Mitchell County, Texas, Cyclone, May 14, 1923, *Report of Relief Activities*, The American Red Cross, pp. 2-5.

ing rapidity and now exercises an influence of coördination upon the churches, charities, and philanthropic societies of the city.''[4]

It is unfortunate that the official reports of the Red Cross do not give more attention to this aspect of disaster relief. Emphasis is usually placed upon promptness in dealing with the emergency and the careful work done in family rehabilitation with little or no effort to point out the social and civic improvements that have grown more or less directly out of the disaster relief operations. More attention to this latter phase of diasaster relief would make even more notable the achievements of the Red Cross in the field of community work.

Advantages and Limitations as a Community Agency.—The present favorable situation of the Red Cross has grown largely out of the goodwill gained by its remarkably successful war services to which wide publicity has been given. Many thousands participated in its varied war activities, and its name became a familiar word in almost every American home. This prestige has declined somewhat during the past few years, but still the Red Cross retains a much more extended following than does any other voluntary social agency. The general reputation for administrative efficiency enjoyed by the national organization is a distinct asset to a local chapter when it appeals to its constituency for support of a community program.

The secure financial status of the Red Cross is another factor of great importance in the further development of its work. With its unappropriated general fund and endowment totalling about $25,000,000, it has a financial reserve that is available to supplement current contributions. The plan of an annual membership fee is apparently well established. While its membership decreased from about 9,000,000 in 1920 to 3,450,000 in 1923, the annual campaigns during the past two years have shown very little if any decrease. From present indications it would seem that the national organization can secure a permanent income of between one and two

[4] Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change*, p. 139.

million dollars a year from membership dues, an amount which entirely apart from other sources of revenue would give it an outstanding place of importance among agencies interested in community work.

In so far as its program is concerned, the Red Cross has had a peculiar advantage in that some of its important war activities have continued as a chapter responsibility during the years following the war. Assistance to disabled ex-service men and their families was a service readily accepted by chapters as a post-war duty and has necessitated the maintainance of chapter activities intimately related to the work of social service agencies. In 1924, 2,600 chapters were still actively engaged in War Home Service, and expended that year two million dollars in support of that work. It has doubtless been the necessity for the completion of this war job that has kept intact chapter organization during the time of transition from a war to a peace basis. The demand on the part of a large number of chapters for authorization to make civilian Home Service a part of their permanent program has largely come about through the interest aroused by the work for ex-soldiers and their families.

Still another advantage possessed by the Red Cross is its extensive machinery for supervision and direction of its chapter activities. Other national organizations prior to the war had developed a field service but the Red Cross widely expanded this method of work and successfully demonstrated its value in building up high standards of efficiency in the more sparsely settled and isolated places. When properly carried out it means the preservation of local autonomy plus the stimulus of outside contacts and skilled supervision. It is the adoption of this method of administration that has made it possible for the Red Cross to maintain successful chapters in many small towns and rural communities where social service had previously been impracticable.

Over against these advantages must be set certain limitations which affect adversely the usefulness of the Red Cross in

the field of community organization. Among these, one of the most important perhaps, is the fact that the organization was established primarily to function in the fields of military and disaster relief. When the Red Cross was reincorporated in 1905 no one foresaw the wide expansion of its activities brought about by the exigencies of the late war. However liberally its Congressional charter may now be interpreted, its incorporators certainly did not intend to establish an organization that would be active in dealing with general community problems. On the contrary, the type of organization built up and the general policies adopted are a clear indication that those in charge of the Red Cross endeavored to make it peculiarly fitted to perform the specific duties for which it was established. The first responsibility of the Red Cross is in the special field of work assigned to it, and any broadening of its program must not in any way interfere with its original purpose. As has already been successfully demonstrated during the past few years, the Red Cross can extend its activities in new fields, but in so doing it cannot have a free hand, for it always must face certain limitations growing out of the nature and purpose of the organization. And even more significant is the fact that these added activities must play a subordinate rôle and fit into an administrative scheme intended to carry forward a different kind of program.

The highly centralized control of the Red Cross is another factor that makes difficult its successful operation as a community agency. Its strict gradations of authority from the branch through the chapter up to national headquarters are admirably suited to efficient control in time of national emergency or of war, but are ill in accord with democratic ideals of community organization. Final authority for the determination of national policies rests upon its chief governing body, the Central Committee, composed of eighteen members only six of whom are chosen by chapter delegates. Chapters receive their charters from the national organization

and may be revoked if circumstances seem to warrant such procedure. The national leadership of the Red Cross is only indirectly responsible to the large membership. Unless its members are given a larger voice in the determination of important policies it will be difficult for chapters to maintain their leadership in community work.

A final handicap which holds back the Red Cross in its newer development in chapter work is the lack of flexibility of its national program. This was especially apparent immediately following the war when a great part of the war momentum was lost before the organization could adjust itself to the new situation. National headquarters must pass upon new types of work that chapters may desire to undertake. Within the general program of the Red Cross, chapters may have entire freedom of choice as to their local activities, but if it is desired to go beyond the limits of this program, permission must be secured from the national organization. In actual practice a great deal of effort is made to avoid interfering with local initiative. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the chapter program is largely predetermined and that in no real sense can it be made fully responsive to the particular needs of any community. The genius and peculiar function of the Red Cross perhaps will always make such a degree of local autonomy impossible. To the extent that this is the case, it will face a serious handicap in competition with other community agencies that possess a more flexible program.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Point out the reasons why the American Red Cross prior to the World War was not regarded as a significant force in community work.

2. State the general plan of organization of the Red Cross and discuss whether its policy of centralized control is an asset or a liability in its chapter development.

3. Explain the reasons for the popularity and wide expansion of the Red Cross during the period of the World War.

4. What were some of the leading factors that entered into the formation of the peace-time program of the Red Cross?

5. What justification is there for regarding the work of the Red Cross as a significant experiment in community organization?

6. Has the Red Cross successfully demonstrated the value of the county plan of organization?

7. Describe some significant experiments of the Red Cross in rural community work.

8. What has been the chief emphasis of the Red Cross in disaster relief? In what way does this leadership in disaster relief operations give the Red Cross unusual opportunity in the field of community development?

9. What are some of the limitations of the Red Cross as a community agency?

10. Indicate the important part the Red Cross has taken in the formulation of community organization policies and methods.

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CHAPTER XV

THE CINCINNATI SOCIAL UNIT ORGANIZATION

The Origin of the Social Unit Plan.—The social unit idea had its beginnings in the experimental work of the Milwaukee Child Welfare Commission which was appointed by the mayor of that city in 1911. The executives of this Commission, Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur C. Phillips, brought to their new position a fund of experience gained in connection with their work in New York City with the Infant's Milk Depot, an agency that provided pure milk for children of poor families, and gave the mothers instruction in the feeding and care of children. Profiting by this experience, the executives of the Child Welfare Commission planned a more ambitious program designed to build up a more sound family and neighborhood life and at the same time raise the standards of service rendered children by doctors, nurses, social workers and others interested in the field of child welfare. As a first step in accomplishing their purpose, a child welfare station was established in a district of the city where experimental work was carried on in order to determine the best methods of extending medical and nursing care to all the children of the district under one year of age. Other child health experiments had provided medical care for sick babies of the poor and gave instruction to mothers who sought this help or were brought to the attention of the staff, but the new note in this child health program was preventive health work in the home of every small child in the district. This involved means of locating these children and persuading their mothers to avail themselves of the services the station was prepared to render. In order to facilitate this work a local committee of eight

influential women was appointed and assigned the task of arousing public interest throughout the district in the child health program. This committee was too small to cover the district in any adequate manner, but the value of their services was such that it suggested the need of a larger force of lay workers which later led to the development of the plan for block workers and the citizens' council.

The other important feature of the child health program was the establishment of the baby clinics under the direction of the medical practitioners living in the district. Instead of placing a child specialist in charge of the clinic without consulting the local physicians, the latter were called together and asked to choose the members of the staff from their own number. Arrangements were made to pay for the time given to the work of the clinics and later one of the leading child specialists in the city was made head of this medical staff. This effort to organize the local medical men in support of the child health program was the forerunner of the occupational council which formed an important part of the social unit plan as it was later developed in Cincinnati. Unfortunately a change in the city administration in Milwaukee interrupted this experiment after it had been under way only six months. The executives of the Child Welfare Commission, after leaving the city, prepared a manuscript in which they outlined the social unit plan based on the ideas which had developed through their Milwaukee experience. Some social and medical workers, to whom the manuscript was submitted for criticism, became interested in the new plan of organization and held a meeting in Washington in 1915 to consider the possibility of putting it into effect. Sufficient public interest was aroused to bring about the following year the establishment in New York of the National Social Unit Organization with Gifford Pinchot as its first president, and Mr. and Mrs. Phillips as secretaries. A fund of $90,000 was pledged toward the cost of a three years' demonstration, and steps were taken to find a suitable city in which to launch

the experiment. Among the cities that endeavored to secure the social unit demonstration, Cincinnati was finally selected because it seemed to possess the best facilities for carrying out the unit program.[1]

Initiation of the Cincinnati Experiment.—While the social unit plan was fostered and largely financed by the national organization, Cincinnati waged a vigorous campaign to secure the demonstration and pledged one-third of the three-year budget. In a series of meetings of leading social, health, and civic organizations the whole plan was presented in detail to five or six hundred people, so that prior to the initiation of the experiment a considerable group of influential leaders was interested and ready to give it hearty support. The widespread interest in the new movement is seen in the fact that the first organization meeting was attended by more than six hundred persons representing practically every trade and profession, as well as a large number of groups of various kinds. At this meeting the Cincinnati Social Unit Organization was formed with the Mayor as the honorary executive. In order that the people might participate directly in the establishment of the organization, the various neighborhoods and groups in the city were given the privilege of nominating the membership of the citizens' and occupational councils. A great deal of time and energy was spent in the building up of this city-wide organization, although it was purely advisory in nature, and was not in direct charge of the demonstration which was limited to a single district in the city.

The selection of the location of the experiment was made a matter of competition among the districts in the city that desired to secure it. The Mohawk-Brighton district, which was chosen after three months' deliberation, demonstrated its interest in the social unit plan by organizing a campaign committee under whose auspices public meetings were held, endorsements of local organizations secured, and petitions signed by large numbers of residents. The final choice of

[1] Cf. Bulletin No. 2-A, National Social Unit Organization, 1918.

the district was made at a public hearing attended by 500 people, many of whom were Mohawk-Brighton residents who set forth the advantages of their community as a location for the demonstration. These facts are particularly worthy of note for they indicate the effort that was made by the national organization to develop local initiative and avoid the danger of imposing a preconceived plan upon the people in an arbitrary manner.

Organization of the Mohawk-Brighton District.—The Mohawk-Brighton district, which had a population of about 15,000, was located on the upper edge of Cincinnati's "basin" area, and was a typical residential section inhabited by middle-class people, many of whom were of German extraction. On the whole, it was a fairly well defined locality, with its own business and other organizations, and possessing a considerable degree of community spirit as was demonstrated in the campaign to secure the social unit experiment.

The work in the district was initiated by the campaign committee which met and constituted itself a temporary organizing committee. Sub-committees on districting, nominations, and constitution were appointed and during a period of about six months these committees aided by the executives in charge of the experiment carried out the details of the organization of the social unit. The district was divided into 31 blocks, each having a population of approximately five hundred. In each block, as far as possible, public meetings were held for the election of a block council which in turn appointed a citizen of the block to serve as its executive or block worker. The citizens' council whose membership was made up of these 31 block workers, was entrusted with the responsibility of keeping in close touch with the needs of the district and formed a convenient means through which the people could participate in determining the policies of the social unit organization.

Along with this organization of the citizens' council on a geographical basis, there was developed an occupational

council composed of representatives of the skilled and professional groups of the district. The physicians, ministers, social workers, business men's club, central labor council, and other occupational interests were requested to designate one delegate from each group to serve as a planning body of specialists whose skilled services were available to meet the needs discovered in the district. This group together with the citizens' council comprised the general council, which was the controlling authority in the social unit demonstration. The citizens' council and the occupational council chose their own executives to administer their affairs, and both councils acting together elected a general executive to serve as head of the entire organization.

Development of the Child Health Program.—Immediately upon completion of the local organization the question arose as to the nature of the work that should first be undertaken. The bulletins that had been issued by the national social unit suggested an infant welfare service as the most suitable means of testing the value of the new type of organization. In accord with the policy which was consistently followed throughout the entire demonstration, this question was submitted to the general council for decision. After full discussion not only in public meetings, but by the physicians' council and by the block workers in their own neighborhoods, an agreement was reached to begin work in the field of child health.

The post-natal service, the first organized work undertaken by the social unit, included nursing supervision in the home and medical examination at the health station located in the social unit headquarters in the district. Following the general plan of organization, the physicians' council assumed responsibility for the medical work, and appointed from among the physicians resident in the district a rotating staff to supervise the medical examinations of the children. The physicians serving in this capacity were paid by the social unit for the time given to the health station. The nurses who

assisted in the examinations and did the follow-up work in the homes were full-time employees of the social unit.

The block workers were assigned the task of locating all the homes with babies under one year of age, and persuading the mothers to bring their children to the station for examination. It was soon found that these neighborhood workers possessed intimate knowledge of their own constituency and were remarkably successful in getting the people to take an interest in the health work. Through their efforts a complete census of the babies was quickly secured, and within a year 90 per cent had been brought to the station for examination. Without doubt a large part of the goodwill and understanding of the people with reference to the child health work was due to the fact that the whole plan was constantly being explained and interpreted by the block workers the people had chosen from among their own number. In order that this task of interpretation might be done efficiently, the block workers were given detailed instruction by the doctors and nurses concerning the whole health program. In recognition, also, of the demands this work would make upon their time, these workers, who were usually women in charge of their own homes, were paid a small sum to compensate them for the loss of time from their household duties. This plan of paying for the type of service ordinarily rendered in other organizations by volunteers recruited largely from the leisure class, was a distinct innovation designed to make possible the active participation of the common people in the work of the organization.

The success of the infant welfare service led gradually to an enlargement of the health program until it included prenatal supervision of mothers, general bedside nursing service, nursing supervision in the home and medical examination in the health station for pre-school children, nursing supervision in the home of tuberculous and pre-tuberculous patients and medical examination of adults. In all this medical service the emphasis was upon prevention rather than cure.

Only in emergency cases was treatment given at the health station. When disease or physical defects were discovered the family physician was notified, and if necessary, hospital or dispensary care was arranged for. Since this health work was primarily preventive in nature, the usual public indifference was encountered which gradually lessened as the demonstration proceeded. The statistics of the health services seem to offer conclusive evidence as to the effectiveness of the social unit plan in arousing public interest in health measures.[2] Dr. Haven Emerson who was requested by the Medical Council of the National Social Unit Organization to evaluate the health work of the Mohawk-Brighton social unit, stated his conclusions in the following words:

> "It must appear to any one who will take the trouble to inquire as to the facts from the people of the Mohawk-Brighton district, that they have had a determining voice in selecting and controlling all the health education, preventive medicine and sickness service features of the community organization. . . . Inquiry develops practical unanimity in the opinion of physicians of the district that the medical needs of the district have been better met than before, that medical practice has been benefited, and that if all taint of donation of services were removed by the assumption of costs by those who were served, there would be no further reservation in the willingness to appraise and approve of the organization and its results."[3]

An Experiment in Democracy.—The purpose of the social unit as stated by its founders was "to promote a type of democratic community organization through which the citizenship as a whole can participate directly in the control of community affairs while at the same time making constant use of the highest technical skill available." Throughout the entire history of the Cincinnati experiment this democratic ideal was kept prominently in the foreground. The administrative machinery that was set up, the time and effort expended to acquaint the people with the plan, and the willingness of the promoters to accept the decisions of the general

[2] See Dinwiddie, *Community Responsibility*, pp. 161-169.
[3] Emerson, "The Social Unit and Public Health," *Proceedings of the National Social Unit Conference*, 1919.

council upon matters of policy, all give evidence of a consistent effort to develop a democratic type of community organization.

Without doubt the plan of organization of the social unit is admirably adapted not merely to participation of the people in the determination of policies, but also to an effective alliance between the general public and the skilled groups so that both can work together more efficiently. The social units' claim to uniqueness lies, indeed, in this division of function between the citizens' and occupational councils which makes it possible for the various elements in the community to make the contribution they are best fitted to perform. Democracy from the point of view of the social unit involves more than an opportunity on the part of the people to control their own affairs. To be efficient it must go a step farther and provide means whereby the technical specialists can discuss the problems within their special province and accept responsibility for working out their solution.

While the social unit possessed the advantage of this close integration of occupational groups and local neighborhood councils with full control of its own affairs, its plan of organization as carried out in Cincinnati might easily lay itself open to the charge of clever manipulation if not arbitrary control by outside leadership. The very nature of the experiment made it necessary for its promoters to be chosen as its executives. From the start the social unit was provided with unusually capable leaders whose preconceived ideas as to the program to be followed may have more or less unwittingly been the controlling force in the decisions of the general council. Of course such was not the intention and those in charge of the demonstration apparently made every effort to bring about popular control, but nevertheless the type of organization adopted would lend itself to use as a political machine if its leaders were interested in using it for that purpose. Especially might this be true in view of the fact that the demonstration was financed entirely outside the district where

it was located. Its outside leaders had been responsible for the raising of the funds, and a tentative budget had been prepared before the local experiment was begun. The question may well be asked whether the lack of financial responsibility does not destroy the value of the experiment from the point of view of democracy. It seems necessary to admit that the circumstances surrounding this particular demonstration made inevitable a certain amount of arbitrary procedure at least in the initiation and financial support of the Mohawk-Brighton organization. Nevertheless these factors to which exception may be taken are not inherent in the plan itself and would not appear if the social unit were generally adopted.

The important fact to be kept in mind is not the way in which the demonstration originated, but the essential philosophy of the plan itself. Social work of the traditional sort ordinarily grows out of the humanitarian ideas of people of means who impose their plan of organization and policies upon their beneficiaries in a more or less arbitrary manner. Whether it is a social settlement, a charity society, or a recreation center, the initiative usually comes from those in a higher social strata, whose position and wealth give them a large degree of power. In sharp contrast to this method of operation, the social unit is organized only in response to the desire of the people, and its councils are so devised that they can never fall into the control of a limited group of people representing only one phase of community life. Here is the distinctive achievement of the social unit which makes it worthy of serious study. Dr. Devine's conclusions concerning this aspect of its work are well worth quoting:

"The evidence seems convincing that the principle of democracy in the thoroughgoing sense attached to that term by the organizers of the Social Unit has been consistently adhered to and that the whole tendency of the movement has been to make its activities more completely democratic, more completely under the intelligent control of committees selected by the community, and that the extension of the Unit idea has been through a slow and patient process of education and demonstra-

tion. It is not claimed that a complete democracy exists in the Mohawk-Brighton District. The avowed and principal purpose of the Social Unit is to create one and to perform such services as an intelligent and well-equipped democracy may conceive to be desirable through such instrumentalities as may be devised by the expert specialists who are working in the community and accept social direction.''[4]

Political Implications.—From one point of view the social unit was an intensive demonstration in the field of public health. Since its practical achievements, which could most readily be tabulated and measured, were chiefly in this field, the public became much more interested in its health program than in its political philosophy. Nevertheless the fundamental purpose of the demonstration was to test the value of a new type of organization and the health activities were simply a means to this end. The demonstration for very obvious reasons was made first in the field of voluntary community work, but if successful here, its application to governmental activities would apparently be the logical next step. Beginning with a small phase of community life, its expanding organization might very well absorb new functions until it would finally take the place of existing political machinery as well as voluntary social and health agencies. The relation of the social unit to political organization necessarily remained in the background as long as the experiment was limited to a single district of a city. Perhaps these more remote implications of the movement would have attracted little or no attention during this preliminary period of experimentation if it had not been for the tenseness of the war situation which made the public unduly fearful of anything that might appear to be critical of the existing government. The attack on the social unit by the Mayor of Cincinnati on the ground that it was ''a government within a government, a step away from Bolshevism, with dangerous radical tendencies'', was entirely unwarranted, but served to direct attention to its political theories. This untimely discussion of its more

[4] Devine, "The Social Unit in Cincinnati," *Survey*, 43 : 120.

wide-reaching implications at a time when its demonstration in a single district was not completed, was very unfortunate, for it alienated public support and hampered the progress of the work during the most important stage of the experiment.

Since the social unit demonstration was limited to a single section of a large city and was not carried through to completion even on this small scale, an evaluation of its rôle in political organization must be largely speculative in nature. Its citizens' councils beginning with the small blocks and extending to larger municipal areas seem to afford unusually full opportunity for the people to participate in governmental control. On the other hand even this praiseworthy attempt to give greater importance to the small neighborhood unit brings in its train administrative problems that merit careful consideration. Likewise, the new rôle assigned the professional groups in working out the problems of government may or may not lead to greater efficiency in the guidance of community affairs. Further experiments of this kind are necessary before conclusions can be reached. In this connection the keen criticism of the social unit by Professor Lowrie from the point of view of the political scientist is worthy of quotation:

"As a substitute for our form of government, the Social Unit has offered little that is tangible. There are too many questions concerning its operation as yet unanswered. It is not apparent that the citizens' councils as they are formed successively from the blocks to the largest areas, will avoid the evils of indirect representation which have been so inimical to 'genuine democracy' as it has worked out in our own governmental systems; why the instructed vote will be satisfactory here when it has not been elsewhere; or how the difficulties of the large council elected by wards we have been trying to escape in our cities will become virtues under the Social Unit system. On the administrative side, the system seems to be weak in providing no method of selecting expert administrators and still more weak in avoiding any administrative cohesion or centralized authority. The staff of the Social Unit, it is true, is of such unusual ability, as to seem to answer one of these criticisms. But these efficient members were selected first by the executives and later

elected to executiveships. This suggests the tendency for a strong extra-governmental organization here, such as grew up in our own political system in the party, which became strong by absorbing features of government when the regularly instituted agencies were weak. Imagine motives of a sordid and selfish character in place of those of altruism and public service, which have always dominated those who have had charge of the experiment, and one is driven to the conclusion that a governmental type more easily corrupted could hardly be erected upon a democratic basis.

"It would be difficult to predict how the occupational councils would operate. There is less in our political experience to guide us. The desirability of having the professional groups mindful of the governmental problems lying within their respective fields and ready to advance the helpful suggestions which the most recent discoveries of science afford, is evident. It is hard to tell how far we should give power to these specialists—how far we should go toward allowing the schools to be controlled by the school teachers; the dental regulations written by the dentists; the health regulations by the doctors and nurses; the building code by the carpenters and architects; or the plumbing code by the plumbers. Possibly the interaction of one group upon another and the necessity of having these decisions approved by the citizens' councils would maintain a sufficient balance. So far, we have hardly been successful in getting our professional groups to concern themselves about the public aspects of their professions except as this might be necessitated by their private practices. And many have been slow to learn that public problems frequently differ from private ones. This may be just what is needed to stimulate that interest but, on the other hand, it might be dangerous to repose control before that interest is aroused."[5]

Contribution to Community Organization.—Whatever conclusions may be reached as to its political implications, it is obvious that the social unit plan of organization is a direct challenge to the traditional methods of administration of community work. The experiments in community organization which have had wide vogue in this country have to a large degree been supported and directed by a small number of public-spirited people, and consequently fail to be truly representative of all the interests of the community. This is even true of such experiments as the community center move-

[5] Lowrie, "The Social Unit—An Experiment in Politics," *National Municipal Review*, 9 : 565-66.

ment which has consistently emphasized democratic ideals and has endeavored to secure participation of all the people. The social unit in striking contrast with other democratic types of community organization has not relied upon such familiar devices as the mass meeting to give the people a voice in community affairs, nor has it contented itself by merely facilitating the coming together of the various agencies and groups in the community. On the contrary it has sought to secure popular representation through the organization of small neighborhood units and then has added to the effectiveness of this democratic control by throwing upon the skilled groups of the community the responsibility of devising means whereby the policies agreed upon may be carried to successful completion. Unlike the federation movement, which would bring order out of the multiplicity of agencies by building up machinery for joint action, the social unit was interested in developing a new type of social organization sufficiently inclusive to cover the various problems of community welfare, thus making unnecessary the establishment and support of additional agencies.

The experiment in the Mohawk-Brighton district did not extend far enough to demonstrate the full possibilities of the movement. Those who were called in to evaluate the social unit near the end of the three-year period were impressed with what had been accomplished, but felt that further demonstration was necessary before final conclusions could be reached. The war situation, as already mentioned, hampered the development of the program of work and was largely responsible for the criticism that the social unit was revolutionary in nature. Under more normal conditions the plan would hardly have met with this official opposition which played a large part in the failure to provide local funds to continue the experiment. The social unit plan, although incompletely demonstrated, stands out as an unusually significant experiment which seems to point the way to a more logical and effective means of community organization.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Describe the practical experience upon which the Social Unit idea was based.

2. What are the outstanding points of difference in the organization of the Cincinnati Social Unit and the traditional type of social service agency?

3. Was there any real basis for the criticism of the Cincinnati Social Unit to the effect that it had socialistic tendencies?

4. Describe the work of the citizens' council and suggest improvements that might be made in its method of organization and operation.

5. Did the Cincinnati Social Unit select the most suitable program for the purpose of its demonstration? Would a more inclusive program have been practical and more convincing?

6. What were some of the difficulties encountered in the organization of the occupational council? Were these merely local in nature or inherent in the plan itself?

7. Contrast the Cincinnati Social Unit and the community center movement from the point of view of their emphasis on democracy.

8. What are the political implications of the Cincinnati Social Unit? Was the Mayor of Cincinnati justified in his assertion that it was "a government within a government"?

9. Is there any real basis for the statement that the Cincinnati Social Unit is the most significant experiment in community organization that has yet been attempted?

10. Did the chief criticisms of the Social Unit grow out of the war situation and the circumstances under which the demonstration was made, or were they justified by weaknesses in the plan itself?

11. Why have no further experiments been made based on the experience gained in the Cincinnati demonstration?

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CHAPTER XVI

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE MOVEMENT

The Development of Industrial Communities.—The tendency of industrial establishments during the past century to locate in commercial centers has been one of the prominent factors in the rapid growth of cities. The advantages of nearness to markets, the existence of an abundant labor supply and transportation facilities have inevitably drawn industries to centers of population where they have exerted a powerful influence upon the whole course of urban development. The industrial communities that have been built up in cities around the factories have a character of their own, determined largely by the nature of their population, and the insistent demand for low rents. Too frequently these communities have tended to become undesirable residence sections characterized by bad housing, lack of recreational facilities, and congested and unwholesome living conditions. The rapid expansion of industries in cities has in some cases resulted in vast industrial communities, such as the Stock Yards district in Chicago, which because of their size, heterogeneity of population, and low standards of living, present problems of organization extremely difficult of solution.

This tendency toward the industrialization of city life seems, however, to have approached its zenith. Within recent years, the equalization of transportation facilities and the excessive rents of large cities have caused many industrial managers to locate their factories in outlying suburbs or in the open country where an entirely new community is built up in the immediate neighborhood of the industrial plant. This exodus from the congested city to outlying districts

is seen in such industrial communities as Gary and Argo near Chicago, Fairfield near Birmingham, Sugar Creek near Kansas City, Flint near Detroit, and Yonkers near New York. In some instances these industrial communities are so advantageously located that they attract a considerable number of industries and then tend to develop into large manufacturing centers with a diversified population, and the usual variety of commercial enterprises. In marked contrast to these highly developed satellite cities are the isolated mining communities and the small industrial towns built up by a single industry, as, for example, the cotton mill village of the South. This removal of industry to the open country has in recent years been going forward with great rapidity, and is bringing about a radical change in the living conditions of many thousands of industrial workers. This new type of industrial community has, at least, the advantage of relative simplicity of structure, and may, therefore, prove to be more responsive to social direction and control. Unfortunately the experiments already made in the organization of these scattered industrial communities have been in a large measure as disappointing in their results as have been the earlier efforts in the large industrial centers. The development of the modern industrial community, whether within or without the city, is a movement of vast significance which presents unique problems in the field of community organization.

Early Experiments in the Organization of Industrial Communities.—One of the first important attempts to organize an industrial community was made by Robert Owen at New Lanark in the early part of the nineteenth century. In this English textile town of less than 2,000 people the most deplorable living conditions prevailed. Crowded gin shops were centers of debauchery and violence, bad sanitation and inadequate housing were accepted as a matter of course, facilities for the disposal of garbage and sewage were lacking, opportunities for wholesome amusement did not exist, schools were unsatisfactory, and even the necessities of life were sold at extortion-

ate prices. In order to meet this situation, Owen, who was manager and part owner of the cotton mills, repaired and built houses, cleaned the streets, and formulated and put in force much needed sanitary regulations. His community program included temperance reform, education, sanitation, housing, establishment of a company store, unemployment insurance, and medical attendance. Undoubtedly Owen's work was largely paternalistic, but his almost unprecedented program of community betterment could hardly have been carried out in any other fashion. His revolutionary methods of dealing with his employees drew attention to the human element in production at a time when exploitation was the common practice. Impelled by his strong belief in the influence of the environment in the formation of character, he built up a program of welfare work which did not stop with the improvement of working conditions, but included also the living conditions of his workers.

The Krupp steel works in Essen, Germany, represent another pioneer effort to improve conditions in an industrial community. As early as 1861 this firm began the erection of workingmen's dwellings. Overcrowding, high rents, unsanitary conditions, and a high death rate were among the factors that led the Krupps to embark on their new policy of housing construction. The industrial colonies that grew out of this housing program necessitated attention to problems of community improvement. Gardens were provided, shade trees planted, parks laid out, and churches, schools, and libraries were constructed, all at company expense. Coöperative purchasing societies were organized, and controlled by the company. The educational program included not merely provision of the usual elementary and secondary school instruction, but also a system of apprenticeship training and industrial schools for women and girls. Other welfare activities designed to improve community life, were a savings bank, a convalescents' home, bathing establishments, an officials' club house, a circulating library, hospital for con-

tagious diseases, and dining halls for workmen. This whole movement was from the beginning frankly paternalistic and for many years the people did not seem to resent their lack of control of their community affairs. Since the world war, however, a decided change of attitude has taken place that has resulted in the formation of a Works Council through which the workmen have a large share in the responsibility for the development of their community.

The establishment of the town of Pullman in the open prairie near Chicago in 1880, stands out as one of the first notable efforts in America to build up and control an industrial community. In order to provide convenient housing facilities for the employees of the Pullman Car Company, George M. Pullman founded and developed an unusually well-planned town which in its provision for the comfort and health of its people was far in advance of other industrial communities of that day. Every house was supplied with water and gas, grass and shrubbery covered the lawns, the streets were shaded with trees, an excellent system of drainage was installed, and a well-equipped recreation field was provided. A centrally located park with gardens and a bandstand formed the foreground for the civic center which included the stores, bank, theater, hotel, library, school, and church. The entire town was company-owned and controlled. Maintenance of public utilities, care of houses and lawns and streets, and management of all community activities were wholly in the hands of the Pullman Company. This centralized control made possible the rapid building of what was heralded as a model industrial community. Without doubt, if the town had been permitted to grow in the usual manner, its development would largely have been directed by real estate speculators who might have given very little consideration to the health and comfort of the people. But the striking fact about this whole experiment of community building was the unfavorable attitude of the people toward the company's control of community affairs. The town was

hardly well established before its attractive features were overshadowed by what the people regarded as an unwarranted invasion of their private rights. Their discontent increased and finally reached its climax in the great strike of 1894 brought on by their disagreement with the company's policy concerning fixed rents and sliding wage scales. During this strike Professor Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago, made an investigation of the situation at Pullman, and later recorded his conclusions as follows:

"I found the most discontented and bitter inhabitants that I had ever met. The burden of their complaints was not expressed in terms of wages, nor labor hours, nor any other physical standards of living. The worst-felt grievance seemed to be voiced in the assertion that they were treated like children, not like men and women. The most telltale bit of evidence that I discovered was the current sneer: 'We are born in a Pullman house, cradled in a Pullman crib, fed from a Pullman store, taught in a Pullman school, confirmed in a Pullman church, exploited in a Pullman shop, and when we die we'll be buried in a Pullman grave and go to a Pullman hell.'

"It would be contrary to the evidence to doubt that in motive, George M. Pullman was a conscientious philanthropist. His mistake was in principle that of all the genuinely benevolent despots. He confounded philanthropy with patronage. He had not found out that the best way for men to help men is not to do things for them, but to do things with them, and perhaps better still to remove removable hindrances to their doing things for themselves."[1]

During the thirty years that have elapsed since the Pullman strike great changes have taken place in that industrial community. The company has sold a large share of its real estate and limits its control to the management of its industrial plant. In 1889 Pullman was annexed to the city of Chicago in spite of the vigorous protests of the company. This decline in company control has made it impossible for the original plans for the community to be fully realized. The well-kept appearance that marked its early days has long since disappeared. Its streets are not so well maintained,

[1] Small, "Americans and the World Crisis," *American Journal of Sociology*, 23: 164. See also Ely's description of Pullman in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, February, 1885.

and many of its lawns and gardens show signs of neglect. Nevertheless the change from company ownership and control to its incorporation in the larger life of the city has, on the whole been a distinct gain. Home ownership has been stimulated, and the interest of the people in civic affairs has been greatly increased. The community institutions provided under paternalistic control have been replaced by institutions more adequate to meet the situation and command the interest of the people to a far greater extent than was possible under the older régime. To-day Pullman takes its place as one of the many industrial districts of a great city, no longer a model town in outward appearance, but nevertheless marked by improvements which indicate that its citizens are accepting in good faith their responsibility for community development.

The Organization of a Mining Community.—The typical mining community presents difficult problems of organization because it is likely to have only a temporary existence and attracts a class of people ill qualified for leadership in community affairs. The location of the mine determines the location of the community which frequently must be situated in a place poorly adapted to residential purposes. Under such circumstances the mining company cannot expect their employees to purchase or build their own homes. In many cases also it is impracticable to await the establishment of independent stores and other places of business needed to supply the necessities of life. When in addition it is remembered that these communities seldom have a local government, being simply a part of the county in which they are located, it becomes apparent that the company must accept large responsibility for school facilities, must provide the necessary public utilities, and put in force the usual health and civic regulations. For these reasons the organization of isolated mining communities is almost inevitably of a paternalistic nature. The methods followed may seem at variance with some of the fundamental principles of com-

munity organization, but they grow out of the necessities of the economic, geographical, and social situation of the communities themselves.

An example of this type of community organization is seen in Tyrone, New Mexico, which is a recently constructed copper mining town. All the land in the vicinity is owned by the mining company which furnishes the sole industry for the entire community. The company erected all the buildings except the railroad station and freight depot. The provision of all public utilities including the central heating and electric power plants, and the maintenance of fire and police protection are functions of the controlling company. A separate department was created by the company to give special attention to the work of housing and community development. A company store is maintained where the employees of the company find it to their advantage to make a large share of their purchases. The rent for the company houses is collected by deducting the necessary amount from the pay of the employees. Medical care is provided for the employees and their families upon the payment of a small monthly fee. The recreational needs of the community have been looked after at company expense, and churches for both Catholics and Protestants have been built. The community is not incorporated, and consequently has no political life of its own. Whatever has been needed to preserve order and to make life endurable in that isolated place has been attended to by the company without requesting the people to accept their share of the responsibility.[2]

It must not be thought, however, that this paternalistic control is always a force directed toward community betterment. On the contrary, the typical company controlled mining community is likely to be unattractive in appearance and uncomfortable and depressing as a place to live. The streets are seldom paved, sidewalks are infrequent, and little attempt

[2] Magnusson, "A Modern Copper Mining Town," *Monthly Labor Review*, September, 1918.

is made to beautify the surroundings. The houses are usually located as near as possible to the mines even though this means the sacrifice of conditions of health and comfort. Sanitary conveniences are rarely found. In the soft coal regions less than 2 per cent of over 16,000 dwellings reported in 1916 were equipped with inside toilets. Too frequently there is little or no provision for recreation, the churches are ill kept and unsightly, and the whole community has a run down appearance. As long as such conditions are general, paternalistic control on the part of the employer can by no means be regarded as satisfactory. Nevertheless the peculiar situation of such communities, with their constantly shifting population makes it impracticable to expect conditions to be radically improved by encouraging the people themselves to be entirely responsible for the direction of their community affairs. Present experience seems to indicate that the employer in a mining community must ordinarily be expected to assume a larger share of responsibility for its organization and development than is customary in a more stable community with diversified industries. Further study and experimentation are needed to determine whether this leadership on the part of the employer can avoid the dangers of paternalism by giving the people an increasing share in the control of their community activities.

The Southern Cotton Mill Village.—The tendency of modern industry to locate on the outer edge of cities and in the open country is nowhere better exemplified than in the development of the textile industry throughout the Southern states. As a result of this policy large sections of the South are dotted with small cotton mill villages whose population is made up almost entirely of mill employees. In a large number of cases these villages have been built up at such a distance from the existing commercial centers that these industrial communities must have their own schools, churches, and places of business. Even where these mill villages are grouped together within the cities or just outside their cor-

porate limits, they tend to form separate communities more or less isolated from the social life of the larger community of which, at least geographically, they form a part. This segregation is an inevitable result of the nature of the textile industry as it has been developed in the South. The mill owners' control of the land in the vicinity of the mill, and their policy of housing their employees in a village built on this company property, their paternalistic attitude toward their employees as it appears in their direction of village affairs, the low social and economic class from which mill operatives are usually drawn, and the loss of social caste which usually goes along with employment in a cotton mill—all are factors that help to explain the forced isolation of mill people which prevents them from normal association with those employed in other industries.

Under such conditions the organization of the mill village becomes not merely a matter of vital concern, but constitutes also an unusually difficult problem. Since the mill population is virtually cut off from full participation in the wider community life, these mill villages are in grave danger of failing to keep pace with current progress. The low status of the mill workers and their lack of initiative and experience in directing community affairs make it impracticable to look to them for effective leadership. There is no escape from the fact that the organization of the mill village rests almost entirely upon the employer. His attitude toward his employees and his ideals concerning housing and community development determine the status of the mill village. Where wholesome living conditions are found, they must be regarded as the expression either of the idealism of the employer or of his desire to promote his own business interests. Only to a very limited extent are the people themselves determining factors in community improvement. The development of the employers' interest in the improvement of mill villages and the striking results that have been attained in some instances

have been set forth as follows by one of the leaders of industrial welfare work in the South:

"As the mills grew, more people were attracted to mill work. Shacks were built around the factories to house the people; for, due to the sparsely settled conditions of these sections, there were no houses to rent and the employees themselves were unable financially to build their own homes. The houses built were necessarily cheap structures and the groups of homes that soon became known as the 'Mill Village' were naturally primeval and in a short time became also unkempt and unsanitary. Nevertheless the physical conditions existing in these first villages were at least equal to those in the immediate past environments of the inhabitants.

"The people in these villages, not infrequently, because they knew no better, were satisfied with their surroundings. They seemed not to care whether their premises were clean, and with only a few exceptions, they were not interested in education, sanitation, or in adequately developing themselves or their children. Hence in the beginning, the mill village was often in reality an eyesore. The people who had formerly been looked down upon as the 'poor whites' and called 'poor white trash' began to be known as 'factory bats', 'mill hands', and 'lint heads'. Isolated formerly in their poverty-ridden homes, they were looked down upon by the plantation owners; there is, therefore, no wonder that when grouped in a community they became socially ostracized as such. The fact that many of the first employees of the mills were negroes, possibly accounts for something also of the past general tendency to look down upon the inhabitants of the mill villages.

"The southern mills soon flourished and their owners were after a time in a position to develop the mill village. The monotonous villages are becoming extinct, houses designed to meet human needs and to give an artistic effect are rapidly replacing the crude huts of the old communities. Few of the newer mills now paint two dwellings adjoining each other the same color. Practically all villages have electric lights and adequate water and sewerage system. The streets are well kept, drained and shaded. Trees, shrubs and flowers adorn the premises. Many villages have parks, swimming pools, community and Y. M. C. A. buildings, greenhouses, etc. The modern village really presents an artistic picture, one that is conducive to a happy, healthy life. The school system, usually supported in part by the mills, is efficient and up-to-date. Community singing, village pageants, lawn and park parties, local talent plays, athletic meets, swimming contests and camping trips are some of the activities in which the people engage. Many tex-

tile manufacturers are employing registered nurses to assist the doctors in caring for the health of the people. Some mills have gone so far as to establish free medical and dental clinics. The church occupies a most prominent part among the activities of the village. Usually the churches are located in the center of the community, and regardless of their particular creed or denomination, are encouraged and at times assisted by the mill management."[3]

This remarkable improvement in the mill villages is especially noticeable in the more progressive sections of the South. Unfortunately, many of the older type of village still remain. The exact proportion of improved and unimproved mill villages cannot be stated because no comprehensive survey of the cotton mill situation has recently been carried out. Without doubt bad conditions are still sufficiently widespread to justify real concern on the part of those interested in the welfare of the cotton mill industry. The following quotation from a recent description of life in a mill village in the lower South presents a depressing picture that still must be accepted as typical in many industrial communities where little has been done to make life wholesome and endurable:

"Within, one finds the crude stop-gaps of the unskilled life—bare, often unswept floors, their space dominated by two or three beds in each ill-ventilated room; walls covered with calendars, enlarged pictures and magazines suggesting the sensationalism which the lives of the occupants lack; the family shelf lurid with varieties of patent medicines whose appeal has been effective for the credulous, careless, and vacillating; mantels be-rowed with the perennial and work-easing snuff boxes. Sometimes a few books litter a table in a corner; and again a talking machine or an installment piano lightens the gloom considerably.

"Perhaps it is quite idle to expect either the physical or mental energy for attractive homemaking in families all of whose members over sixteen are employed from ten to twelve hours per day or night in a six-day week, attending spindles and other pieces of machinery in a linty atmosphere. When such persons have an hour for recreation or rest they avoid effort; their spare time for pleasure is spent on simple, crude diversions, less immoral than unmoral. Their sleeping hours are spent in bedrooms crowded with beds and their occupants, sometimes indiscriminately men, women, boys, and growing girls and boarders. The windows to these

[3] Adapted from Heiss, "The Cotton Mill Village," *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1924, pp. 345-50.

rooms are more frequently and widely opened than they used to be, since the mill management has hired hygiene workers; but the rural prejudice of ignorant folk against night air is obstinate.

"The diet of the mill worker is largely fried foods, purchased and prepared uneconomically. What other dishes, indeed, can the small girl, or the weary mother, with their limited energy, patience, and knowledge, prepare? Moreover, the climate and food costs discourage baking in any but a hasty manner. The task of keeping house more often than not devolves upon someone considered unfit for the mill work in which the rest of the family engages. Thus the least capable village types, especially at low-paying mills, are left with the responsibility for the maintenance of the dwelling, and to a large extent, the health of its occupants. The effects of this division of labor are evident in the broken families, the sallow faces, and undernourished, ill-clad bodies, of the workers and their children.

"This distribution of the functions in the domestic economy is one reason why the mill villages cannot breed enough workers to supply the industry in prosperous times in spite of the fact that they do not leave for other industries. Born of parents living under the conditions and environment described, the offspring cannot be robust. They seem to be as numerous as is possible with mill working mothers, and statistical evidence might show a correlation here with child mortality. At any rate, it is commonly observed that the survivors, untrained in restraint or control, in turn marry young and have early families. Must not old age and the cessation of economic usefulness come early to these people? Where the older ones have yielded to the temptation to exploit their children, that is where the family as an institution has been steadily undermined by the conditions of mill life, their reward tends to be a forgetfulness of duty on the part of their children. Further, the second generation lacks the economic ability to care for the first, and this fact is recognized by those mills which are giving small pensions to old employees."[4]

There is, moreover, another important aspect of this whole situation to which too little attention has been given. The problem of community organization has not been completely solved when the external appearance of the village has been made attractive and its fundamental institutions have been established. Of more far-reaching significance is the effect of this industrial and social régime upon the people them-

[4] Nichols, "Does the Mill Village Foster Any Social Types?" *Journal of Social Forces*, March, 1924, pp. 353-54.

selves. The paternalistic attitude of the employers, the utter dependence of the mill workers upon their employers for practically everything connected with community conditions and activities, the social odium that goes along with cotton mill employment which effectually segregates the workers from the general industrial population—all are producing a situation that is almost unique in modern industry. Any type of community organization that minimizes the participation of the people in working out their own affairs and is so narrowly conceived that it cuts them off from the usual contacts with those who live in the wider community, is adopting a procedure for which little justification can be found. The people caught in the meshes of such a system must inevitably lose initiative and the spirit of independence and tend to form a social caste ill in accord with American ideals of citizenship.

Organization Problems in an Oil-producing District.—The difficulties in the way of organizing industrial communities stand out very clearly in localities where the discovery of oil has suddenly brought together a considerable number of people practically all of whom are engaged in the oil industry. A community formed in this way is likely to be scattered over a fairly wide territory with no easy means of access to a common center. Moreover, the uncertainty of the future of oil production retards the development of a feeling of stability and prevents comprehensive plans for permanent improvements. The high rate of labor turn-over, and the restlessness that is usually characteristic of "boom" towns make it exceedingly difficult for community institutions to be firmly established. The following description of a typical oil district makes clear some of the obstacles to community organization in an industrial situation of this kind:

"Seven miles from Bakersfield, California, lies the Kern River Oil Field, a region some twenty-five square miles in area and occupied by about 2,500 people. Until a quarter of a century ago this section was barren, hilly, and seamed with canyons. Probably the whole of it could

have been bought for 'two bits' an acre. Then a 'wildcat' well was started; oil was found; the rush came. Night and day, seven days in the week, with holidays eliminated, work proceeded. Rude bunkhouses emerged and shacks sprang up; oil derricks grew until now there is a forest of 2,500 of them. Power plants multiplied, gasoline engines were installed. Pipe lines lengthened to miles and miles; gas was conducted into every human dwelling place; running water was brought to shack and bunkhouse; electric wires checkered the field. To every derrick was built a road; refineries were started; millions were spent for materials and millions more for wages. Families moved in; children appeared; schools were instituted; a church was ventured; social functions were attempted.

"Today the several oil companies pay creditable wages and generously provide for the comfort of the bachelor men, as well as for those with families. Apparently there is a premium placed upon the family, with the thought that a man with a family is a possible fixture. The Associated Oil Company leads in such domestic and social provisions. Bunkhouses are well kept with a room for each man. They have baths, toilets, and reading rooms. The mess house is well managed; the food is bountiful and well prepared. Much is done for the welfare of the unattached men. There are a few unattached women, and they too are cared for with becoming wisdom.

"The family houses are comfortable, spacious, supplied with gas, electricity, bath, toilet, and frequently telephone. The buildings are usually embowered with cottonwood trees, with now and then apricot and figs. Even though the summers are hot, this environment with plenty of water serves to dissipate the heat, making living conditions tolerable, if not inviting.

"There are four district schools with attendance varying from 200 to 300, and having a dozen teachers. At the Center is a club house well equipped, but struggling between life and death, with an occasional dance or card party. There is a splendidly equipped plunge with bath house which is popular during the summer. Within a year a golf course was laid out; it is popular with a limited number. There is an athletic field; but no game of any kind has been staged there for months. With a strenuous campaign the Parent-Teacher Associations, of which there are two, enroll a hundred members at a dollar a year. Two Sunday Schools operate in the field with a combined membership of 125. There is one small church with a resident minister. At the Center are a post office, general store, soda fountain, barber shop, and billiard tables, all in one room, not under company management, making a real contribution toward community socialization. Yet all these local institutions have made and are making slow progress in bringing the people together.

"The folks living in this field seem to be above the average in intelligence. Here are found college and university people, and a goodly number who have studied in other higher and technical institutions of learning. The companies have sought out those who were manifestly capable; they have by process of sifting and elimination secured the efficient. On the brow of almost every worker may be read the story of character, trustworthy and reliable. This gives solidity; it also assures the families, making women and children unafraid to live anywhere in the field, enjoying the feeling of security and protection without dogs and padlocks.

"It has been the custom of the field for men to work seven days in the week. This means that, deprived of their 'one day in seven', the men seek diversions in a fragmentary manner and without unity of purpose. Then there is the eight-hour shift, in itself worthy of commendation; but coupled with it the monthly change of shift. If a man wished to attend regularly any educational, religious, or social gatherings, it would be impossible, because his hours would change every month.

"The oil companies are many, each with its own man power and domestic attachments, each standing over against the other, many of them separated by the numerous canyon seams. Into this field men come for a short time; seldom do they stay more than six months, and then they shift to another company or to other fields. A few families come for a short time and camp. None having come to stay, acquaintances are seldom attempted, much less are friendships formed; neighborliness is lacking. Such being the fact, they can hardly be expected to look ahead with pride to a fine church, school or other public buildings which throughout their days might adorn their town.

"As the wage earners have prospered, they have purchased automobiles, until now there is a garage for every family in the field. This is a dissipating instrument, especially so far as the church is concerned. It is easy, whenever they wish, to drive to Bakersfield for church, theater, and other activities; and apparently they do go to the county seat more frequently than they get together among themselves.

"Young people find little to do when out of school. In the summer many of them leave with their mothers to escape the heat. Even the activities of the Community House languish most of the time. It seems as hard to have a successful card party as to hold a prayer-meeting at the church; a dance is as difficult to promote as a Sunday School rally.

"A recent survey in the interest of the local church revealed some interesting attitudes. Seldom in so restricted an area could an equal number of religious alibis be enumerated. The women could attend

religious services, even though their husbands work on Sunday; but they are coming to do as the men. In the minds of a good many the church is a failure. It has not succeeded very well. Neither has the club house, nor has the Parent-Teacher Association, nor the athletic club, nor the Boy Scouts, nor several other attempts made in the recent past. Any effort made to socialize the field may run well for a season, but all too soon it 'peters out'.

"We find here, in spite of plenty of good human raw material and good physical conditions of life, serious obstacles to the development of a vital community life. These include the high labor turnover with the certainty that many will not stay long, the separation of the employees of sixty different companies, the seven-day week and the changing shift, the accessibility of a near-by town of 30,000, especially since 'everyone' has an automobile, and the physical contour of the region which makes it easier to go down the canyons away from the oil field than across the hills to the neighbors."[5]

Industrial Welfare Work as a Means of Community Organization.—Industrial welfare work has been defined as the "effort of the employer to establish and maintain certain standards in respect to hours, wages, working and living conditions of his employees, which are neither required by law nor by the conditions of the market".[6] The interest of the employer in activities of this nature is justified on the ground that they improve the efficiency of the worker and therefore increase production. Broadly speaking, welfare work promoted by the employer may be separated into two general divisions: (1) that which centers around the worker in his factory relations, and (2) that which is concerned with living conditions and community improvement. The former, which may include provision for the training of workers, personnel work, job analysis, sickness and accident benefits, health and safety measures, etc., aim at the improvement of industrial standards, while the latter enter directly into the field of community organization and include activities ordinarily left either to private enterprise or to the jurisdiction of the local government.

[5] Queen, "Obstacles to Community Organization," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, May-June, 1924.
[6] Boettiger, *Employee Welfare Work*, p. 19.

Since industrial welfare work is primarily intended for the benefit of the employees of the firm or corporation financing it, it tends to be community-wide only in company towns where these employees are segregated apart from the general industrial population. In communities of this kind where the employer has control through the ownership of land and houses, a type of community organization is possible which frequently is very spectacular in its results. This appears very clearly in some of the illustrations already given, as, for example, the cotton mill villages and the mining communities. But even where this work seems to be most effective, it faces the danger of becoming too paternalistic and in addition is open to the objection that it keeps the employees in a class to themselves instead of promoting wider social relationships.

In large industrial communities made up of employees of many different factories, no one company can ordinarily be expected to assume responsibility for general community improvement. When community work is attempted by an employer in such a situation, it is usually limited to the development of recreational facilities in the neighborhood of the factory, the employment of a public health nurse to visit the families of the employees, and other activities of a similar kind. There are, it should be mentioned, some outstanding instances where employers include in their industrial welfare program all the people, irrespective of their place of employment. The Lackawanna Social Center, for example, provides club facilities for both employees and non-employees. The Eastman Kodak Company provides Kodak Park which is used by all the people of Rochester. The Ludlow Manufacturing Company built a hospital and presented it to the town of Ludlow for general use. But generally the principle holds that industrial welfare work must be limited to the employees of the firm financing it. When such a policy is followed in a city by a large number of factories, it means a great amount

of individual effort in behalf of different groups of employees with no attempt to correlate the various activities undertaken. What is needed is a community-wide program designed to meet the needs of all the people instead of unrelated efforts in behalf of special groups. If all the employers would unite in support of such a program under the control of the municipality, a great forward step could be taken in the improvement of industrial centers.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What peculiar difficulties are involved in the organization of industrial communities?
2. How do you explain the failure of the industrial welfare program at Pullman?
3. What form of community organization seems most suitable for an isolated mining community? Why?
4. What is the fundamental philosophy underlying industrial welfare work?
5. In an industrial community characterized by a high rate of mobility is a democratic type of community organization likely to be successful?
6. Show how the movement of industry to the open country complicates the problem of community organization.
7. Is the existence of industrial welfare work under the auspices of several different corporations in a city inconsistent with the development of an efficient and comprehensive community organization program?
8. What objections to industrial welfare work are raised by organized labor?
9. What are the objections to industrial welfare work from the point of view of the community organizer?
10. Under what circumstances may industrial welfare work be defended as a suitable means of community organization?

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CHAPTER XVII

THE PUBLIC WELFARE MOVEMENT

The Nature of Public Welfare.—By public welfare is meant the service rendered by the government in promoting the social well being of the people. Historically, it grew out of the older charities and corrections which attempted to deal with the disadvantaged and the socially deficient. The new term, public welfare, is intended to include not merely this salvage and repair but the more constructive efforts to get at the root of social problems.

When our national government was first established, public opinion did not favor any wide extension of its functions. The section in the constitution which stated that Congress was to provide "for the common defense and the general welfare" was understood to mean that the government should concern itself merely with the work of protection, and the promotion of certain public improvements. The tendency was to limit as far as possible the activities of the government in this field, a policy which was only gradually modified in later years when the need of greater governmental control became more apparent.

Very early in the history of the various states, the state authorities had to accept certain responsibilities for the care of the poor, the imprisonment of criminals, and the segregation of the insane and the feebleminded. Many laws were passed and institutions were built in the effort to keep pace with the growing demand that the state and local governments should deal more adequately with these problems. As long as this work was largely limited to activities of a remedial nature, the term, charities and correction, was a suffi-

ciently accurate description of its nature and scope. Those interested in more far-reaching and constructive efforts to improve conditions allied themselves with private agencies which furnished the leadership and the initiative needed in pioneer work in new fields. The public welfare movement did not become possible until popular interest in humanitarian work reached the point where public funds could be expended in this wider field of reform marked out by private agencies. For the most part public welfare is still in its early stages of development, possessing perhaps more of the characteristics of the old régime than of the new era which is making its way slowly in a minority of the states. Public welfare as yet is a goal to be approximated rather than an achievement to be described. Nevertheless, its program has in certain states been formulated with sufficient clearness to constitute it an experiment in community organization to which attention must be given.

State Systems of Public Welfare.—During and immediately following the Civil War the first steps were taken in building up state organizations definitely concerned with the care and treatment of the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes. These Boards of State Charities, as they were frequently called, were not entrusted with administrative responsibilities. The situation that brought them into existence was the chaotic condition of the charitable and correctional work of the various institutions and agencies with its consequent waste effort and inefficiency of administration. The Massachusetts Commission appointed to study this situation recommended the establishment of a State Board of Charities which was "to be entrusted with the duty of constantly supervising the whole system of public charities, in order to secure the greatest usefulness without unnecessary expense." Its distinct field of work was to be that of coordination and correlation and it was in activities of this nature, together with the development of improved methods

of institutional administration, that Massachusetts set the pattern for similar boards in other states.

The first state boards of charities had supervisory powers only, but as the importance of their duties became more generally recognized, there was a tendency to give them greater authority. In some states, this meant merely the granting of certain executive powers, as, for example, in the licensing of children's institutions. In other states the desire for greater efficiency led to the development of central boards of control with complete responsibility for the administration of the state institutions within their field. For a number of years there has existed a strong difference of opinion as to the best type of organization, with the result that each state has been inclined to work out this problem in accord with local needs and desires. The situation as it existed in 1922 has been summarized by Miss Breckenridge as follows: "Three states still have no central authority; eleven still have unpaid supervisory boards; ten have administrative boards that are either unpaid or ex-officio; ten have salaried boards of control; four maintain two (or more) separate boards, one mainly supervisory, one mainly administrative; ten have created departments, eight under the general name of public welfare."[1]

But however important are the recent developments in types of organization, of much greater significance is the transition from the older conception of their task as charities and correction to public welfare. This change, which is still in its early stages, is a natural result of the great advance that has been made in dealing with social problems through the application of scientific methods of procedure. The more progressive state boards of public welfare are now vitally interested in improving the conditions of living and are casting about for the best means of extending their services wherever needed throughout the entire state. This has led in a few

[1] "Summary of the Present State Systems for the Organization and Administration of Public Welfare," *Annals American Academy Political and Social Science*, January, 1923, p. 99.

instances to the development of county systems of public welfare, which represent the first entrance of the state boards into the field of community organization.

County Departments of Public Welfare.—The advantages of the county as an administrative unit for social work have long been recognized by those interested in finding a solution of the social problems of small towns and rural communities. The New York State Charities Aid Association, as early as 1872, adopted the county plan of organization which included the formation of county committees to study local problems and develop more adequate programs for the care of dependent children and adults in need of assistance. In the child welfare field, especially, the county work of this organization has stood out with great prominence and has led to the establishment in a number of counties of the state of a co-operative plan whereby the child placing work is supported jointly by private and public funds.

This work of the State Charities Aid Association, together with similar experiments by other private agencies, brought about a growing interest in county-wide work which culminated less than a decade ago in the application of the method of county organization to the work of state boards of charities. Through the creation of county welfare boards it was hoped that the state boards would be able to carry out their recommendations concerning improved methods in a more effective manner and at the same time have available local machinery that would prevent duplication of effort and promote a better utilization of community resources in dealing with local social problems. Thus far the establishment of county organizations in the public welfare field has followed no uniform type and must still be regarded as in the experimental stage.

The most far-reaching experiment in county organization for public welfare was launched in North Carolina in 1917 when the reorganization of the old State Board of Charities brought about an enlargement of its scope and included permission to proceed with the development of county boards of

public welfare. The North Carolina law was based on the experience of the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare and was originally drawn up by Mr. L. A. Halbert, the secretary of the Kansas City Board, at the request of a member of the North Carolina State Board of Charities.[2] While this legislation was enacted in 1917, a beginning was not made in county organization until two years later when the provision for the county system was made mandatory (except in counties with a population under 32,000) and an appropriation was made for this purpose. According to the present law, the board of county commissioners and the county board of education jointly elect a county superintendent of public welfare, this appointment being subject to the approval of the State Commissioner of Public Welfare. A county board of public welfare with advisory powers only is appointed in each county by the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. In counties with less than 32,000 population, the county superintendent of education may be asked to serve as county superintendent of public welfare but with no extra pay for these services. The duties of the county superintendent of public welfare cover practically the entire field of social work and include such functions as the administration of poor relief, probation and parole, compulsory school attendance, enforcement of child labor law, inspection of county institutions, care of dependent children, promotion of recreation and general community organization. Under this plan of organization the county department of public welfare not only serves as the agent of the state board of charities and public welfare in putting into effect its policies and recommendations but also acts as a unifying force by bringing under its control all the welfare activities for which the county government accepts responsibility. This centralization of authority places the county department of public welfare in a strategic position which gives it great influence in county

[2] *Public Welfare and the Community.* Extension Bulletin, University of North Carolina, 1925.

affairs. While of course this control does not extend over the field of private agencies, the county superintendent of public welfare is constantly under the necessity of coöperating with the various agencies and organizations in his county and therefore has an unusual opportunity to further the work of coördination.

Among the difficulties that interfere with the successful operation of the county plan in North Carolina is the lack of administrative authority on the part of the county boards of public welfare. The members of these boards are chosen because of their interest and ability in this field of work but they must accept as the executive officer of their department the appointee of the county commissioners and the county board of education. Under these circumstances the appointment of county superintendents of public welfare cannot always be kept free from partisan politics, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to get people of ability and influence to serve on county welfare boards and maintain an active interest in their work. Another problem grows out of the inability of a county superintendent of public welfare to deal adequately with all the duties assigned him by law. While the plan presupposes a staff of trained workers in each county, only a few of the county superintendents have any assistance whatever. At present, full-time superintendents of public welfare are at work in about half of the counties and in spite of their handicaps are doing sufficiently successful work to demonstrate the value of the county plan of organization.

Methods of Coördinating Public and Private Social Agencies.—Since private social agencies have usually led the way in developing standards of social work, they were the first to see the necessity of better coördination of their activities with those carried on under public auspices. Until recent years the methods of administration that quite frequently characterized public social agencies seemed so hopeless of improvement that the usual procedure of private agencies was to ignore their existence. In some cases, however, efforts

were made to define their respective fields of work and to develop a plan of coöperation that would bring about better efficiency. Reference has already been made to the important experiment of the New York State Charities Aid Association in organizing county committees which worked with the local authorities in improving methods of child care. For more than thirty years this Association has been promoting plans of coöperation with public officials in New York and has been a strong influence in securing the legislation needed to strengthen and unify the county work.[3]

The so-called Iowa plan is a more recent example of private initiative taking the lead in developing a centralized system of administration of public and private welfare activities. Beginning with the year 1912, largely under the leadership of the Extension Department of the State University, an experiment in county organization was tried out which seems specially suitable for the more sparsely settled sections where neither the public nor private agencies ordinarily employ trained workers. The plan involves the organization of a social service league or bureau controlled by a board of representative citizens, with the county supervisors acting as members ex-officio. A skilled social worker is placed in charge and the expenses of the organization are usually met jointly by the county supervisors and by private contributions. This bureau administers the public outdoor relief, an arrangement which is made possible by the official appointment of the secretary as overseer of the poor. In addition, general social work is undertaken as facilities permit, and a special effort is made to bring the county agencies together and secure better coördination of their work. By uniting the public and private forces of the county in a central organization of this kind, not only are friction and duplication greatly decreased, but trained leadership is made possible in situations where otherwise none would likely be available.[4]

[3] Cf. *County Organization for Child Care and Protection*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 107, p. 93 ff.
[4] McClenahan, *Organizing the Community*, ch. 6.

In states where the organization of public welfare is more advanced, the public agency may be the one that takes active part in promoting community organization. The recently established system of public welfare in Pennsylvania includes a plan of organization on a county basis where the public authorities take the first steps in bringing the private and public agencies together. The State Commonwealth Committee, composed of representatives from the state departments of health, labor and industry, public instruction, and public welfare, is authorized to create county welfare boards in counties where a responsible group of citizens request the formation of such an organization. The membership of these county welfare boards comprises the county medical director, county superintendent of schools, representatives of the mothers' assistance fund board, the county poor board, and the county commissioners, together with five citizens of the county nominated by the various private agencies engaged in some form of social work. This county organization, which is fully representative of both the private and public social and health agencies, is entrusted with the responsibility of raising standards of work and promoting coördination through such devices as the establishment of social service exchanges and bringing about conferences of the workers connected with the different agencies. A county welfare superintendent may be employed in case the work undertaken by the county organization is sufficient to justify paid leadership. While the plan has not yet been put in active operation, it seems handicapped from the start by its lack of emphasis upon the necessity of a skilled community worker to put into effect the proposed functions of the county welfare board.[5]

A similar difficulty has to a large degree made ineffective thus far the county work in North Carolina as far as its leadership in community organization is concerned. Through the provisions of the law the county superintendent of public

[5] Hunt, "The Department of Public Welfare in Pennsylvania," *Annals American Academy Political and Social Science*, January, 1923, p. 104.

welfare in North Carolina and also in Missouri is in a peculiarly strategic position where he could exert a profound influence upon the coördination of public and private agencies throughout the county. But a task of this kind is difficult to carry through and requires the careful direction of a trained and experienced worker. In many cases the lack of such leadership has made ineffective the coördinating function of the county department of public welfare. This failure, however, is not due to any inherent defect in the system itself and better results will likely be secured as soon as the whole purpose of the movement becomes better understood and receives a larger measure of public support.

The Place of the Public Welfare Movement in Community Organization.—The contribution that public welfare has made to community organization has been limited to recent years. The older type of public charities was not only very crude in its method of operation but also extremely individualistic in its dealing with social problems. The overseer of the poor, who more than anyone else has determined the status of the public social agency of the past generation, played a lone hand in giving out his doles and apparently gave no thought to the value of coöperation with others also interested in aiding the poor. As long as public agencies had this conception of their task, they constituted a problem in community organization instead of helping in its solution. But with the coming in of the newer ideals of public welfare, the older attitudes toward social problems began to be replaced by a more fundamental appreciation of the community point of view. Practically all the modern systems of public welfare recognize the importance of working out the problem of community relationships and usually make some provision to bring about a greater degree of coöperation and unity. Thus far this aspect of the public welfare movement has not to any great extent been put into actual practice. It still exists largely in theory and perhaps little progress will be made in this direction until the whole movement is more securely

established. At present, county superintendents of public welfare have their time taken up with more elemental duties in the fields of relief and delinquency and tend to neglect the difficult problems of organization.

Nevertheless, the establishment of the ideal of public welfare itself represents a long step toward the unification of governmental welfare activities and places the emphasis for this work where it belongs. As this movement becomes more securely entrenched, its relationship to private social agencies will be more clearly seen and then more fundamental steps can be taken in the direction of coöperative effort. In the meantime the little that public welfare leaders are now doing in community organization possesses unusual significance because it points out the method of approach to this problem which seems to offer the greatest promise for the future.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What changes in the scope of work of the State Boards of Charities marked their entrance into the field of community organization?
2. To what extent has public welfare work been organized on a county basis?
3. Show how the North Carolina plan of public welfare offers unusual opportunities for leadership in community organization.
4. What are the limitations of the North Carolina plan as shown by its experience during the past five years?
5. Why has the Pennsylvania plan of county organization not been put into effect?
6. What are some of the problems connected with the coordination of public and private agencies?
7. If both public and private agencies are equally well equipped with trained personnel, which type of agency is best fitted to lead in community organization?

8. Give examples of the different methods that have been used in coördinating the work of public and private agencies.

9. What is the special significance of the public welfare movement in the field of community organization?

10. Will the development of public welfare work likely force the private agencies into a position of decreasing importance?

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE PUBLIC HEALTH MOVEMENT

The recent emphasis upon coördination of social agencies has been paralleled by a similar movement in the field of public health. For many years following the organization of the American Public Health Association in 1872 there was no widespread interest in public health work, and the activities of public health officials were largely confined to the enforcement of sanitary regulations and the control of communicable diseases. The wider possibilities in the public health field first began to gain popular attention through the active campaign of the anti-tuberculosis movement which had its origin a little more than a quarter of a century ago. A wave of popular interest in public health swept over the more progressive sections of the country during the decade prior to the world war and led to the organization of various state and national health agencies which became forces of real power in the promotion of public health work. This rapid increase in the number of health agencies made it imperative that the relations between the private and public health organizations should be more accurately defined and that the state and national public health associations should coöperate more effectively in their development of community health programs. The successful steps that have already been taken by public health leaders in bringing about greater unity of effort represent a real achievement and make the public health movement of special interest to students of community organization.

Development of the Health Center.—The health center idea has been developed by public health workers in the effort to

make more available for the general public the best scientific methods and facilities for conquering disease. Possibly the first attempt in this country to put into effect the health center plan was made in Milwaukee in 1911 under the leadership of Wilbur C. Phillips who organized a child welfare campaign for the Board of Health in a single district of that city. The anti-tuberculosis workers in Cincinnati a little later followed a similar method of procedure when they inaugurated a vigorous campaign within a limited district in order to demonstrate the value of intensive work.

A new phase of health center development took place when in Buffalo and New York City branches of the Health Department were established in certain neighborhoods so that the services of the Department could be made more readily available to the people. The plan also included coöperation with the voluntary social and health agencies operating in these districts.

During the World War the health center idea was widely promulgated and attracted much favorable attention. The movement received perhaps its greatest impetus when the health center was adopted by the American Red Cross as one of the chief health projects of the peace-time program of that organization. In 1920 it was estimated that 25 per cent of the cities in this country over 100,000 in population were equipped with health centers. Since then considerable progress has been made in this form of public health work, but the earlier hopes of its promoters that the movement would spread rapidly into the small communities have not been fully realized.

Mr. P. S. Platt, the director of the New Haven Health Center, has enumerated five types of health centers as follows:

"Type I, which limits itself to health education along the usual lines of exhibits, talks, literature, and to functions of an information clearing house character.

"Type II, which does the above but also engages in medical treatment of the sick through various clinics.

"Type III resembles a miniature health department for it carries on in a local district all or nearly all of the functions of the official department of health under a plan of decentralization.

"Type IV is radically different in limiting itself to consultative medical diagnosis of the most modern and scientific character, dependent upon a group of experts and primarily designed to aid and educate the less highly trained physician.

"Type V is differentiated from the preceding types by reason of its positive emphasis on the possibility and desirability of good health. It is primarily interested in the well or only slightly indisposed person. It gives careful physical examinations to well people. It wishes to create a will to health."[1]

Health Centers Under Governmental Auspices.—While the health center movement has largely been fostered by private agencies, city departments of health have in a number of instances adopted this method of making their service more effective in needy districts within their jurisdiction. An example is found in the health unit established in the West End of Boston by the city health department in 1916. The agencies that coöperated with the city health officials in this experiment were the Consumptives' Hospital Department, Instructive District Nursing Association, Boston Dispensary, Milk and Baby Hygiene Association, Associated Charities, Hebrew Federated Charities, Women's Municipal League, and Mothers' Club of the West End. The work attempted was for the most part in the field of health education and led later to the opening of a dental unit and a medical clinic where routine physical examinations were given. This health center has become the clearing house for the health work in that section of the city and has been a strong factor in bringing about a better coördination of work among the social and health agencies participating in the experiment.[2]

The Division of Child Hygiene of the Department of Pub-

[1] *American Journal Public Health*, 11 : 223.
[2] Moore, *Public Health in the United States*, pp. 299-301.

lic Health in Philadelphia established a health center in 1916 in a congested district. Others were added until in 1923 ten health centers specializing in child health were in successful operation in different sections of the city. In 1918 the city health officer of Oswego, New York, organized a health center for the purpose of bringing under one roof all of the health activities, thus promoting efficiency and at the same time saving overhead expense. During the influenza epidemic of that year when approximately half of the population of the city was ill, the health center became the emergency headquarters where ambulance service was established, medicines were supplied, and medical and nursing services were systematized so that large numbers of people could be aided. Official health centers of the types just described represent a step forward in public health administration and are likely to come into more general use as the demand for health work becomes more widespread.

The Red Cross Health Center.—Among the private organizations interested in the development of health centers, the American Red Cross easily occupies first place. Undoubtedly the wide interest in this form of health work can be traced to the thoroughgoing publicity carried on by the Red Cross in its efforts during the years immediately following the war to establish health centers in its chapters throughout the entire country. In a Red Cross bulletin issued in 1919 the general nature and purpose of the health center were outlined as follows:

"A health center is the physical headquarters for the public health work of a community. As such, it is the practical and concrete expression of the interest of the community in the health of its inhabitants. It constitutes a business-like way of associating health activities, both public and private, under one roof in daily touch and in complete mutual understanding. The health center thus represents the latest step in the evolution of community health work, and answers the demand for efficient conservation of effort in bringing together important but hitherto independent health campaigns, such as those for the prevention of tuberculosis, venereal diseases, mental diseases, industrial diseases,

and above all the vitally necessary modern effort for the conservation of child life. In turn, it offers new possibilities of properly relating these volunteer activities to the official health work of the city, county, state, and federal authorities.''[3]

The Red Cross health center has been aptly described as an institution from which health radiates rather than an institution to which disease gravitates. In contrast to clinical health centers, it was primarily designed to be of a general informational and educational character which could be organized and conducted by lay people. Its activities were to be largely in the field of health information service, including health education and instruction through the distribution of literature and the organization of classes. The management of the health center was placed in the hands of the chapter executive committee working in close coöperation with the Health Center Advisory Council consisting of representative officials of the health agencies at work in the jurisdiction of the chapter.

In 1920 about 900 Red Cross chapters were engaged in some form of health center activities in addition to nursing and first-aid work. The rapid growth of this movement at that time indicates the widely felt need of a better organization of the health forces of the community. The East Harlem Health Center which was established in 1921 by the New York County Chapter of the Red Cross is an excellent example of one of the more elaborate types of health center work carried on under Red Cross auspices. Coöperating with this health center are the Department of Health of New York City and twenty-one health and welfare agencies. Ten of these agencies maintain headquarters in the health center building which is known in that community as the ''Red Cross White House''.

A study of the East Harlem district, which comprised about 100,000 people, revealed the fact that certain phases of health work were not being provided for. In order to fill up these

[3] American Red Cross Circular, No. 1000, September, 1919.

gaps, the missing services were taken over by the coöperating agencies. The Red Cross chapter established a health information bureau. The Association for the Prevention and Relief of Heart Disease put on a cardiac clinic. The New York State Charities Aid Association established a psychiatric clinic. A dental clinic and nutrition work were provided for out of health center funds since there were no agencies in the district at work in these fields.

After operating the health center for a period of eighteen months, it was found that the district was receiving 80 per cent more service than had been the case before the establishment of this coöperative health undertaking. The experience of this health center, as well as of those located in smaller cities, furnishes evidence of the value of a coöperative plan whereby the public and private health and allied agencies of a community can work together on a comprehensive health program.[4]

City Health Federations.—Another plan of coördination of health agencies that seems well suited to the conditions that prevail in a large city is the health federation. This method of bringing the varied health activities into a closer working relationship is obviously patterned after the federations of social agencies which now exist in practically all the larger cities. The pioneer health federations that have attracted wide attention through their successful operation are the Cincinnati Public Health Federation, the Boston Health League, and the Cuyahoga County Health Association at Cleveland.

The Cincinnati Federation, organized in 1918, is the health branch of the Council of Social Agencies and receives its financial support from the community chest. Its plan of organization follows closely the procedure adopted by councils of social agencies. Each member organization sends two delegates to the health federation. The work of the Federa-

[4] Widdemer, "East Harlem Health Center Demonstration," *National Conference Social Work*, 1923, p. 42.

tion is conducted through divisional councils on special phases of health work. Each council is made up of representatives of organizations at work in that particular field. In certain cases the council may consist of a single agency, as, for example, the council on housing is the Better Housing League, and the council on tuberculosis is the Anti-Tuberculosis League. The general policies of the Federation are determined by a coördinating committee which consists of the officers of the Federation, the chairmen of the divisional councils, and ten members at large. The Federation had in 1922 ten councils as follows: cancer control, child hygiene, hospitals, housing, industrial health, mental hygiene, mouth hygiene, nursing, social hygiene, and tuberculosis. In addition to the work of the divisional councils, the Federation conducts a speakers' bureau, publishes a monthly bulletin containing information of interest to its constituent agencies, and keeps in touch with all matters that affect the health situation in the city. Among the more notable accomplishments of the Federation during its first years may be listed its work in promoting diphtheria immunization, standardizing day nurseries, procuring a mental hygiene survey, increasing hospital facilities for children, and conducting a large health exposition.[5]

The Boston Health League, established in 1919, is likewise a federation of agencies interested in health work but has certain features which distinguish it from the Cincinnati plan. Each member organization has one delegate and one vote in the central council of the League. Public as well as private health organizations are included in its membership. Among its members are the city and state health departments, the social service department of the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Homeopathic Hospital, the Children's Hospital, the medical inspection department of the public school system, as well as the various voluntary health agencies at work in the city. The League was financed during its first years

[5] Lakeman, "Three City Health Federations," *Survey*, February 4, 1922, p. 732.

by the Metropolitan Chapter of the Red Cross. Instead of inaugurating from the start a comprehensive health program, the League selected a single district in the city for a period of experimental work. An extensive social and health survey was conducted in order to make available the facts necessary for a wise formulation of the program. The plan is to secure teamwork in building up a comprehensive health program in this district and then enlarge its sphere of operation until the entire city is covered.

The Cleveland health federation grew out of the hospital and health survey conducted in 1920, and in its general plan of operation follows the Cincinnati federation. Among its distinctive features is its adoption of the county as its unit of work. It differs also from the Boston Health League in its limitation of membership to voluntary agencies. Coördination of its work with public health agencies is brought about through an advisory council which includes the city health officer, the superintendent of schools, a representative from the hospitals, a delegate from the Academy of Medicine, and the director of the Public Health Association.

Community Health Demonstrations.—One of the new developments in public health work is the community health demonstration carried on under the auspices of a national health agency. This demonstration method of approach to community health work has been adopted as a suitable means of testing out health policies and methods of coördination. These demonstrations usually cover a period of five years and are undertaken only when the community that has been selected gives assurance of the fullest possible coöperation. The Framingham Community Health and Tuberculosis Demonstration and the Mansfield Child Health Demonstration, which are among the first experiments of this kind, have already attracted wide and favorable attention. Similar experiments are also under way in Fargo, North Dakota; Syracuse, and Cattaraugus County, New York. The following description of the Child Health Demonstration in Mansfield, Ohio, points out the main

features of the demonstration method and indicates the value of this experiment in community organization.

The National Child Health Council set aside in 1921 two hundred thousand dollars for a five-year demonstration in Mansfield with the understanding that this amount should be supplemented by local funds. The objectives of the demonstration have been stated by its director, Dr. W. H. Brown, in these words:

"First, to work out a practical plan and an economical method whereby the resources of these national organizations can be effectively delivered to the local community, this to be done through and with the local agencies; second, to assess at their true value the various procedures now being advocated for the improvement of the health of children; third, to combine the best of these procedures in a way calculated to induce the local community to recognize their value and to make them a permanent part of their community life; fourth, to make available the training facilities for preparing workers to conduct this type of health work, the courses of training to be made a part of the instruction in the various types of schools from which the community draws its trained service; fifth, to demonstrate how any similar American community can, by the adoption of these methods, promote the health of its children."[6]

A local advisory council was organized which was composed of a representative from each of the official health and educational departments, the social service agencies, medical and dental societies, industrial and labor organizations, religious and civic bodies, and agricultural groups. This council through its executive committee and director worked out the details of local administration and furnished the machinery whereby the community could accept its share of responsibility for the demonstration. The staff of the Child Health Demonstration consists of a corps of trained workers which include a director for each of the special services, medical, nursing, health education, nutrition, and social service. The work was first directed along three lines: study of the health needs and resources of the community, methods of securing

[6] Brown, "The Child Health Demonstration in Mansfield," *National Conference Social Work*, 1922, p. 199.

medical and nursing care for children, and methods of providing proper health education.

The plan included the organization of a health center in Mansfield, together with secondary centers in different parts of the county. The medical service was placed under the direction of a full-time pediatrist who is available for consultation service to the local physicians. Through the health centers the various health services available for children are being developed and correlated. One of the early projects was the organization of a "health examination corps", consisting of a physician, dentist, nurse, teacher, and two volunteers, who conducted medical examinations of school children. The staff of the Demonstration does not include a separate nursing corps. The additional nursing service that is needed is secured by adding personnel to the local nursing group, all working in accord with a unified plan developed by the director of nursing on the staff of the Demonstration. The director of health education was given the same official position in the school system which has made it possible to work out for the schools courses of study dealing with community health problems. The Mansfield Child Health Demonstration, which is an unusually significant experiment in community health organization, has already made clear the value to a community of a carefully planned health program under the direction of well-trained leaders.

Coördination of Voluntary and Official Health Agencies.—In the recent literature of the public health movement much space has been given to the discussion of the relation and respective spheres of work of the official and non-official health organizations. For many years a similar controversy was waged among the social workers which led gradually to a working agreement between the private and public social agencies that is now quite generally accepted. The problem in the health field involves similar principles but as yet no satisfactory solution has been reached.

One point of view is that the health official should concentrate his attention on the control of disease and should undertake no additional duties until this work is more adequately done. Voluntary health associations should then assume responsibility for experimental work and for activities in the fields of education, therapeutics, and hygiene. Others hold that the health official should undertake all kinds of health work and that any divided responsibility between official and voluntary agencies will result in lowered standards. Still another view is that public health departments have the right to undertake all the functions of public health but at least for the present the assistance of private agencies is needed especially in carrying forward the work of health education, research, demonstration, and the promotion of cooperation. On the other hand, the two important functions of inspection and control, and diagnosis should not be attempted under private auspices for they can be carried out more satisfactorily by the authorities that are backed up by legal power.

While these different points of view and the arguments brought forward in their support have much in common with the same problem in the field of social work, there is one important difference that grows out of the higher standards of efficiency in the average department of health as compared, for example, with the usual governmental machinery dealing with poor relief. The effective work carried on by the United States Public Health Service, the state departments of health, and many of the municipal health departments in the larger cities has given a place of leadership to the public health authorities that goes far beyond any similar attainments in the field of public welfare. This fact does not make the work of the voluntary health agency less important, but it does affect its status and the rôle it must play in the promotion of public health.

Public health work has apparently reached a stage of devel-

opment where it should be regarded as the direct responsibility of official departments of health. Efforts therefore should be in the direction of increasing their facilities by giving them a larger measure of public support. In the meantime, the assistance of the private health agency is necessary in fields of work that official health departments cannot yet cover adequately. The private agency can also perform a useful function in criticizing official health methods and policies when they fall below the proper standards. And whatever solution is finally reached concerning the interrelation of private and official health agencies, it seems clear that the private health forces must retain their own independence and be free to initiate new plans and launch experiments in untried fields.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What are the special problems of coördination in the field of public health?
2. What type of health center seems best adapted to bring about the unification of the health forces of a city?
3. What has been the special contribution of the Red Cross to the health center plan of organization?
4. Contrast the methods of work of the city health federations in Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Boston.
5. Why do community health demonstrations present unusual opportunities for the development of unified health programs?
6. On what basis can there be worked out a proper division of the field of public health by official and voluntary health agencies?
7. What difficulties are involved in uniting the public health and social service agencies in a comprehensive plan of community organization?
8. Has the public health movement made any significant contributions to the technique of community organization?

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CHAPTER XIX

COORDINATION OF STATE AND NATIONAL AGENCIES

The problem of community organization extends far beyond the boundaries of the local community. The network of state and national agencies, that seem to be constantly increasing in number, has extended its influence in recent years, with the result that it is practically impossible for the average community to act independently in its formation of a community program. At the present time it is unusual for a community not to receive more or less frequent visits from representatives of state and national agencies eager to build up local centers of influence and support. Without doubt this aggressive leadership on the part of state and national agencies has been a prominent factor in raising standards and in stimulating community work. On the other hand, the lack of correlation of these outside forces has in many cases led to the development of ill-balanced community programs which have made more acute the problem of community organization. Before much advance can be made in bringing about greater unity of action in local communities, the various state and national agencies will need to formulate a method of approach to their community activities that will give ample consideration to the local situation. Correlation of these agencies in a more thoroughgoing manner than has yet been accomplished is a necessary next step if local community organization is to make consistent progress.

Growth of State Organizations.—The state is a territorial unit of great importance for it forms the basis of our legal structure. The federal government is a combination of the

states and its powers are limited to those delegated to it by the national constitution. Throughout the history of our country there has been a strong feeling that the state's rights and prerogatives must be carefully guarded, a feeling that has prevented the American people from going very far in the direction of increased federal control. As far as the smaller governmental units are concerned, the county, the city, the township, and the school district, all owe their existence to the state and are largely controlled by its statutes. While the growth of large urban centers within the past half century has greatly enhanced the importance of the city, the state still stands out as the unit of government peculiarly fitted to determine fundamental matters of domestic policy affecting the interests of the people.

State agencies and institutions represent, therefore, logical and appropriate means of dealing with state-wide social problems. The state has for many years recognized the necessity of placing in state institutions such classes as the feeble-minded, the insane, and criminals convicted of serious offenses instead of having provision made for them by the county or city. State departments of health, state boards of charities or public welfare, and state departments of education have become accepted as administrative units best qualified for leadership in their respective fields. It is both natural and inevitable that there should arise in the field of voluntary effort various agencies organized on a state-wide basis for the purpose of supplementing the work of official agencies and departments. Within recent years and especially since the World War such organizations as state anti-tuberculosis leagues, state conferences of social work, state public health associations, and others representing a wide range of interests have come into existence in sufficient numbers to make overlapping of function and duplication of effort a serious problem. It is this situation that has led to various attempts to develop some administrative device through which these state

agencies might become better united in the services they are endeavoring to render.

State Councils of Social Agencies.—One of the important recent experiments in the coördination of state-wide organizations is the state council of social agencies. In its general plan this form of organization bears a close resemblance to city councils of social agencies and functions in a similar manner. Membership in the council is open to both public and private agencies in the field of social welfare that operate on a state-wide basis. Each organization is usually represented on the council by two delegates officially chosen to serve in that capacity.

The Ohio plan, which was the first outstanding development of this kind, grew out of a meeting of state agencies called by the Governor in 1919 to consider problems of reconstruction. The State Council that was organized as a result of that meeting brought together in one body the health, social, and educational agencies and departments of the state, thereby facilitating the discussion of common problems and the formation of general policies for their mutual guidance.

In addition to the usual activities designed to bring about a better understanding and coöperation among the member agencies, an effort was made to develop in the various counties of the state a unified program in which the state agencies at work in those counties would all contribute their part and keep the Council informed as to the progress made. The Council carried out this function by meeting once a month as a "county case committee", those attending being limited usually to field workers on the staff of state agencies or other state workers familiar with conditions in the county under discussion. For example, the case committee might comprise a field representative of the Red Cross, the State Supervisor of Schools, an agricultural extension worker from the State University, and a representative of the State Board of Health.

In such case conferences, it was the usual practice for each worker to describe conditions and problems in the county as discovered by his agency and then endeavor to agree upon a program of county development in which all would participate in so far as their resources would permit. Just how this worked out can be seen in the following record of the work of this case committee in outlining a plan of campaign for one of the more backward counties of the state. The county in question, it should be mentioned, had been visited by a representative of the Council of National Defense in 1919 with no apparent results. In the winter of the following year the county was made the subject of discussion at a meeting of the county case committee.

"February, 1920. The experience of the Council of National Defense indicated that only a few people were aware of the serious social problems of the county, and that these few needed help in seeing what steps they could take to improve conditions. The committee, therefore, asked the State Board of Health to make a demonstration by sending a specialist to examine all the children in one school.

"March. The representative of the state board reported that serious conditions were discovered, and that partially as a result, the local Red Cross chapter had agreed to secure a public health nurse.

"April. The committee still felt that there was need of securing a wider knowledge of these facts and more public interest. At the suggestion of the Agricultural College extension representative, therefore, they decided to organize a community meting through the Grange.

"June. The Extension Department reported that the probation officer, the county agent, the Red Cross secretary, and a few women attended this meeting, at which there were also representatives of the State Board of Health and the supervisor of county agents. While the local people recognized the existence of certain problems, it was evident that no one was ready as yet to take the lead in improving condi-

tions. It seemed possible, however, to create some organization of women which might ultimately provide the necessary social leadership. The committee, therefore, asked the field representative of the American Red Cross and the women's club organizer of the university to visit the county together and organize a number of clubs whose first project would be classes in home care of the sick under an instructor to be provided by the Red Cross.

"August. These workers reported that ten such classes were organized, out of which it was possible to create five permanent organizations.

"October. At this meeting it became evident that some of this stimulation was beginning to bear fruit. The university reported a plan for a country life conference and a drive for members for the farm bureau, and also a request that the State Department of Education enable the county normal school to secure a teacher of agriculture. The Child Welfare Council had made a study of truancy there and had reported to these groups of women in the endeavor to interest them in the better enforcement of the school attendance law. There was an average attendance of 100 at each of these meetings; before the advent of the organizer, one community had not had an outside speaker for six years. The state supervising nurse suggested that in view of the serious family problems revealed by the truancy study, the Red Cross chapter should secure as the second member of its staff a trained social worker.

"The committees at this meeting reached the following conclusions: The Red Cross field representative will consult the chapter about employing a trained social worker in addition to the nurse; the state supervisor of education will consider the possibility of having the state pay for a teacher of agriculture in the normal school; the supervising nurse of the State Board of Health will try to persuade the nurse not to leave as she was considering doing; the university extension representative will proceed with plans for the rural

life conference in which the other agencies will join; the women's club organizer of the university will visit the clubs again to give some teaching in dietetics and help them develop a program; the State Board of Health will send some one to confer with the local health officer who is trying to better health conditions in the schools.

"One of the workers reported that the county was greatly pleased by the help it was receiving from state agencies, and that the attitude of mind had changed markedly within the year. The committee is trying not to stimulate interest too rapidly but is following all possible leads."[1]

The joint planning that is made possible through this method of work is a distinct gain to the counties concerned, and seems to be sufficiently practical to justify its further adoption. In one case at least this effort to plan a unified program led to a more formal social survey as is illustrated by the study of Hamilton conducted by the State Council of Social Agencies at the request of the people of that city. In this study representatives of the various state agencies accepted responsibility for securing the facts that came within their respective fields, thus making possible an authoritative survey by specialists at a minimum expense. An added advantage of this type of joint study is that the program growing out of the survey is formulated by the state agencies whose aid must be secured in putting it into effect.

The State council plan has spread to a few other states, notably Texas and Georgia. The results secured seem to offer a convincing demonstration of the value of this method of coördinating the work of state agencies. Its failure to be adopted more widely indicates either indifference to this problem or an unwillingness to take such a radical step in the direction of coöperative effort. The annual state conference of social work still continues to be about as far as the social

[1] Byington, "State Councils of Social Agencies," *Survey*, December 25, 1920, p. 456.

work leaders care to go in organizing their activities on a state-wide basis.

Coördination of State Health Agencies.—The rapid development of interest in public health during recent years has also created a situation which necessitates increased attention to the problem of coördination. Great advances have been made by state departments of health both in the enlargement of their functions and in their standards of efficiency. This remarkable growth of public health departments has been paralleled by the organization of many volunteer health agencies, each specializing in its particular field and characterized by a strong desire to extend its influence. Under these circumstances confusion was inevitable, and consequently various efforts have been made to put the work of the state health agencies on a more orderly and systematic basis.

This movement towards coördination of the state health activities has taken form in two ways. In some states the federation plan has been adopted which has resulted in the formation of a state health council similar to the councils organized in the field of social work. These state health councils attempt to accomplish their purpose by operating as a central clearing house for the specialized agencies in the fields of tuberculosis, cancer, mental hygiene, social hygiene, including all the important state health organizations both public and private.

The other method of coördination is through a state public health association in which are merged all the state organizations engaged in the various phases of health work. An outstanding example of this centralized plan is the Maine Public Health Association which had its origin in the reorganization of the State Anti-Tuberculosis Association to cover a wider range of health services. This inclusive program was made possible by organizing divisions of the new Association that would accept responsibility for different health problems, as for example, tuberculosis prevention, conservation of vi-

sion, cancer control, child hygiene, public health nursing, dental hygiene, social hygiene, and mental hygiene. Each division has its own director, but the various programs are under the general control of the executive committee of the Association. Coördination with the State Health Department is brought about by asking the State Commissioner of Health to serve as a member of the executive committee. In order to give the people in each section of the state an opportunity to participate in the management of the Association, the local associations which are organized in each county elect one representative each to serve as a director of the state organization. Through the aid of these county health associations, the local health resources are brought together, and a comprehensive health program developed to meet the needs of each county.[2]

This attempt to solve the problem of health coördination by moving in the direction of centralized control seems logical and in accord with modern ideals of efficiency. It has not, however, been adopted by many states, and much more extensive experience is needed before it will be possible to reach satisfactory conclusions as to its value and practicability. At present, the state council plan is more in popular favor, and is the method of correlation recommended by the American Public Health Association.

Lack of Coördination Among National Social Agencies.—It is only within recent years that there has been much discussion of the failure of national organizations to work out plans of coöperation similar to those now thought to be necessary in local community undertakings. Prior to 1900 national organizations were not sufficiently numerous or influential to make their coördination a matter of serious importance. Especially since the World War this tendency to utilize the national agency as a means of promoting a cause has developed in a striking manner. This assumption

[2] Thurber, "State Voluntary Health Coördination," *National Conference Social Work*, 1922, p. 203.

of a missionary rôle has brought with it an increase in the number of devices designed to make more effective the contacts of national agencies in local communities and consequently has directed public attention to their overlapping efforts. The unsatisfactory situation that now exists because of the individualistic operation of national organizations has been well described in the recent study made of this problem in fourteen American communities.[3] The conditions found in Sioux Falls as narrated in the published report of this investigation are especially illuminating.

"Sioux Falls, South Dakota, has a population of approximately 25,000. Previous to the War no national agency had made intensive contact with the city. The National Tuberculosis Association had organized nursing service throughout the state. The local Humane Society paid a ten dollar membership fee to the American Humane Association and received literature and advice concerning its work. The annual meeting of the National Children's Home and Welfare Association was attended by the superintendent of the South Dakota Children's Home Society, which has its headquarters in Sioux Falls. The National Women's Christian Temperance Union had established a local union, but this never developed a social program or had more than forty active members. The International Sunshine Society had associated with it one of the departments of the History Club.

"Not all national agencies were successful in establishing even this slight contact. The Y. M. C. A. attempted to organize but had to withdraw when the community failed to support its work. The Boy Scouts established troops, but never succeeded in organizing a local Council.

"The War apparently aroused a community consciousness of social needs. A fertile soil for the development of social work was the result, and national organizations began to find their way to Sioux Falls. Beginning in

[3] *Report of a Study of the Interrelation of the Work of National Social Agencies in Fourteen American Communities,* National Information Bureau, N. Y., 1923.

1917 an American Red Cross chapter was organized and the Salvation Army established a headquarters in the city. Two years later the Y. M. C. A. began a campaign for the erection of a new building. In 1920 the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, at the request of the Chamber of Commerce, made a survey of the community and established a family welfare society. The same year the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People organized a branch, and the Child Welfare League of America admitted the South Dakota Children's Home Society to membership. During 1921 the Y. W. C. A. established a local unit and organized educational and recreational activities; the National Council of Catholic Women appointed a Sioux Falls representative to organize a unit in that territory; and the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations received one of the local Parent-Teacher Associations on an affiliated membership. The following year three additional national organizations, The National Tuberculosis Association, the American Society for the Control of Cancer, and the National Committee on Visiting Teachers, endeavored to initiate local programs in the city.

"Thus in five years, ten local units of national organizations have been formed, and two other national affiliations have been established. At first thought this succession of new agencies seems to suggest the sturdiness of the city's social development. With one exception these national organizations made their respective approaches to Sioux Falls independently of each other, and the city responded. No prophecy of failure can be made on the basis of the facts revealed by this study. Nevertheless some phases of the situation at the time of our visit raise the question whether the city has not been overdeveloped.

"At the time of the visit of the Staff in 1922, a county nurse who had been employed for two years by a group interested in tuberculosis work was released for lack of funds.

Also, there was a strong sentiment in favor of discontinuing the work of the County Demonstration Agent because the farmers, feeling the acute financial depression, were demanding a reduction in taxes. The Y. M. C. A. had to float a bond issue to complete its $450,000 building, and no money was available to buy equipment. The Y. W. C. A. was having a difficult time to establish its activities, as there was another organization in the same field. The Women's Alliance with representatives on its board from all church groups had for twelve years maintained a boarding home for girls, and organized educational and recreational classes. The Y. W. C. A. had not undertaken a building campaign, but the Women's Alliance had acquired property and planned to build as soon as it had sufficient funds. The Federation of Women's Clubs had recently considered an affiliation with Community Service and a representative of that organization visited Sioux Falls, but no definite alliance was effected.

"At the same time the one-sidedness of this development was evidenced by the fact that although eighteen national agencies were in touch with this community, the important field of health had been allowed to go practically undeveloped. No agency or group of agencies has developed a public health education program for the community nor has anyone shown particular concern over the lack of organizations and institutions for the prevention and cure of disease. There are three private hospitals, but no free beds are available, except those paid for by the city and county. None of these institutions will accept a tubercular patient except in the last stages of the disease. Practically no free or small fee clinics have been established for adults, even for contagious or infectious diseases, and only within the past year or two have attempts been made by the school nurse to establish clinics for school children.

"Local communities have learned that there must be relationships between local social agencies; and Sioux Falls is learning this with reference to the local agencies established

by these national organizations. If the locals find it necessary to take thought of each other after they are established, it would seem reasonable that their respective nationals do so before they are established. Sioux Falls since the War has been a promising field for social work. National organizations cannot be blamed for having cultivated it. In its present situation there are enough uncertainties and incongruities to suggest that its program of cultivation might more profitably have been coöperative instead of individualistic."[4]

If the experience of Sioux Falls in developing its social and health work is typical, and there is reason to believe that this is the case, it is imperative that there be provided at least facilities for the interchange of information concerning proposed local projects so that competitive programs might not be launched in a community at the same time. It also ought not to be impracticable for national organizations to go one step farther and agree upon coöperative plans for community development in which the different agencies would take their respective parts.

National Organizations as a Factor in Local Community Organization.—The influence of national organizations upon local community organization problems varies widely in different instances, depending to a large degree upon policies and methods of work. A militaristic organization like the Salvation Army, which has absolute administrative control over its local branches, tends to follow a fixed national policy which cannot be readily modified to meet the needs of different communities. Ordinarily national agencies do not possess this high degree of centralized authority. Some organizations, as for example, the Boy Scouts of America, and the American Red Cross retain control over their local units through the device of granting charters which may be revoked if the need arises. Still others set up standards of eligibility for membership to which the local agency must conform in order to remain in good standing. The least meas-

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 95-99.

ure of local control is found in those national organizations that exist primarily for promotion, and limit their activities to annual conferences or to various forms of educational publicity.

These different degrees of national administrative responsibility make it difficult to estimate accurately the part that national organizations play in the local problems of community organization. Apparently, the majority of the national agencies seldom go beyond the giving of advice and rendering services that may be requested by their locals. In some quarters there is a strong feeling on the part of local agencies that their national organizations should not presume to meddle in local affairs. Where this attitude prevails, the national organization can hardly be regarded as a serious complicating factor in correlating community work. On the other hand, the aggressive efforts of national agencies to extend their influence tend to multiply the number of agencies in communities sometimes without due regard to the total community situation. The available evidence seems to show that the laudable desire of national organizations to gain a larger constituency has in many instances been the chief contributing factor in the over-organization of communities. And in those cases where national programs do not seem to fit into local needs, the activities of national organizations may create an actual state of disorganization which becomes a serious obstacle to community progress.

Coördination of National Health Agencies.—In the field of public health, coördination of national agencies has made greater advance than has yet proved practicable among the national organizations interested in social work. At a conference on public health in New York in 1913 a discussion of the need of coördinating the activities of national health organizations led to the authorization of a study of this problem. Two years later when the report of this study was made, plans were set in motion looking toward the development of a national clearing house of voluntary health

interests, but were not carried to completion on account of the World War. In 1919 the American Public Health Association called a conference to renew discussion of the matter and the following year a further study of the needs of correlation resulted in the organization of the National Health Council.

Among the members of this council are found such important health organizations as the American Public Health Association, the American Red Cross, Council on Health and Public Instruction of the American Medical Association, National Child Health Council, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, and National Tuberculosis Association. The United States Public Health Service is an advisory member of the Council. The financial support of the Council has been secured for the most part from the dues of members and contributions by the American Red Cross and by various Foundations. As one means of promoting its function of coördination a joint office arrangement was worked out in New York for seven member organizations. Its work is largely of a clearing house nature, consisting of information service, publication of bulletins and reports, inter-staff conferences, study of health problems, health publicity, and general coöperation with member agencies in their various programs.

Another important effort to coördinate health activities on a national scale is the National Child Health Council organized in 1920. The charter members of this Council were the American Child Hygiene Association, the Child Health Organization of America, National Child Labor Committee, American Red Cross, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, and National Tuberculosis Association. A large share of the work of the Council is done by its advisory committees whose duty it is to evaluate child health programs and work out plans and policies that will lead to better correlation of health activities. Before issuing literature dealing with their respective fields, the member organizations notify the Council of their plans for publication so that sug-

gestions can be made concerning the avoidance of duplications. Another important phase of its work has been the child health demonstrations in certain communities which are intended to show what can be accomplished locally when a well coördinated program is put into effect. The Council has had from the beginning adequate support and good leadership, and has done pioneer work in indicating how national agencies can coöperate when suitable machinery is provided.

Efforts to Coördinate National Social Agencies.—For more than half a century the National Conference of Social Work has stood out as an important factor in the promotion of mutual understanding and goodwill among the different groups of social agencies. Its annual meeting, however, has been the chief feature of its work, and it has always declined to enter into the field of administration. The recently established American Association of Social Workers has entered the field as a professional organization for social workers with its chief interest in professional standards rather than in coördination of effort. The National Information Bureau, which was organized in 1918 on the initiative of the financial federation movement, represents the first recent step toward a frank facing of the problems growing out of the rapid expansion of national social agencies. Under its auspices a study of national-local relationships has been completed and published, and another study has been launched for the purpose of throwing light on the problem of financial support of these national organizations.

A movement of even greater promise in this field of national coördination is the establishment a year ago of the National Social Work Council, which grew out of an informal discussion group composed of leaders of different national social work organizations with headquarters in New York City. The purpose and nature of the work of this Council has been stated by its chairman, Howard S. Braucher, as follows:

"The purpose as stated in the constitution is to help national social work agencies, groups of such agencies, and formal organizations of such agencies representing special interests more readily to exchange information, to provide for regular conference between leaders, to provide, through its committees, for the investigation and study of common problems.

"The common experiences of the national social work organizations will be reduced to writing, statements of facts of value to all will be mimeographed and sent to the organizations represented. The leaders in a sense will go to school to one another and their full time leader whom they have themselves chosen. Experiences with reference to accounting, publicity, money-raising, and legislative and other special problems will be pooled through the Council, and the leaders expect through this coöperative undertaking to be able through the years to work more effectively to secure greater results with an economy of effort put forth.

"Membership in the Council is limited to national social work agencies having field workers assisting local communities or local institutions, or having field work to secure special legislation, and also supported by contributions from the general public."[5]

Twelve national organizations became the charter members of the National Social Work Council which entered upon its active campaign of work under full time leadership in the autumn of 1925. Whether this new organization will command sufficient prestige and support to accomplish its purpose, it is too early to predict. According to its announced plans, it seems more interested in promoting efficiency than in the fundamental matter of inter-relationships. This new experiment in national coördination will be watched with great interest for it deals with a serious problem that vitally affects the future development of national agencies.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Show how the inter-relationships of state, national, and local organizations complicate the problem of local community organization.

[5] Quoted in Editorial in *Survey*, December 1, 1924, p. 294.

2. Make a list of the health, social and educational agencies and departments doing state-wide work in your State. What means are being used to unite them in the development of a comprehensive program?

3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the State Council of Social Agencies?

4. Is it practicable to unite the State Council of Social Agencies and the State Conference of Social Work so that both functions can be carried on without the necessity of supporting two separate organizations?

5. Discuss the two ways in which the coördination of the State public health activities has been brought about? Does the trend seem to be in the direction of greater centralized control?

6. Study carefully the *Report of a Study of the Inter-relation of the Work of National Social Agencies in Fourteen American Communities* and in view of the facts there presented suggest ways and means of promoting coöperation among national social agencies.

7. Is the National Social Work Council so organized that it gives promise of exercising real influence in the field of coördination?

8. How do you explain the very considerable progress that has already been made in the coördination of national health agencies?

9. The National Conference of Social Work and the American Association of Social Workers, appeal largely to the same constituency for leadership and financial support. Are their functions so dissimilar that two separate organizations must be maintained? Can you suggest a plan of reorganization or coöperation that would enable the work of both organizations to be under the direction of a single national office?

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PART III

THEORIES AND PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER XX

THE PHILOSOPHY OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The Rise of Community Organization.—For the first beginnings of community organization, as we have already seen, we must go back to those pioneer social agencies that blazed the way for the modern social welfare movement. The Charity Organization Society grew very largely out of the very need of correlation and coördination which is now so strongly emphasized by community workers. Its early promoters pointed out in a striking manner the duplication as well as the wide gaps in the efforts of the community to relieve poverty, which represented in a large measure the social work of their day. While the distinguishing feature of this movement is usually thought of as insistence on scientific methods of diagnosis and treatment, it must be remembered that this could not be carried out successfully without the coöperation of the different agencies of the community. Along with their emphasis on case work methods an important place was given to the organization of the community to meet more adequately the problem of poverty and its attendant ills. The wide prevalence of such names as Associated Charities, United Charities, and Federated Charities bears evidence of the success of this phase of their work. Out of this attempt to solve their specific problems arose, quite naturally, a need for a more inclusive organization of all the social agencies of a community. This need during the past decade and a half has found expression in the Central Council of Social Agencies which owed its origin and early development to the organization now known as the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work.

In a very different but no less important manner the beginnings of community organization can be seen in the social settlements which were first established in this country a generation ago. This social settlement movement which has been described as an experiment in organized neighborliness did not attempt to accomplish its purpose by bringing about a correlation of community agencies. Its approach to its neighborhood problem was much more simple and informal. By establishing a neighborhood center where there could meet on terms of neighborly intimacy the best representatives of education and culture and those deficient in those advantages, the groundwork was laid for the development of a coöperative spirit which is the very essence of community organization. The social settlements in fact must be regarded in a very real sense as the forerunner of the modern community movement. To them must be given credit for leadership in the establishment of playgrounds for children and recreational facilities for adults. They were also a powerful force in supplementing the wider activities of public schools and in demonstrating how educational facilities could be extended to include the adults of a community. In a similar way they have fostered the growth of interest in public health and have been influential leaders in raising standards of hygiene and sanitation. By demonstrating in their local neighborhoods the results that can be accomplished by a simple organization of activities to meet recognized needs, they have paved the way for the wider work now being undertaken by different aspects of the community organization movement.

Community organization is, therefore, nothing new. In its fundamental purpose it has long been most intimately interwoven in the whole fabric of social work. It owes its present popularity to the growing recognition of the necessity for better team work and for a more comprehensive attack on social problems. The recent emphasis on community organization means simply a greater concentration of attention on the problem of striking a proper balance between the

work of specialized agencies and the interests of the people as a whole. Its increasing influence is satisfying evidence that sporadic and imperfectly related efforts to deal with social problems are going out of vogue. Social work, which has grown into prominence because of its adoption of scientific methods, now seems to be taking another step forward characterized by a more statesmanlike breadth of view and an insistence on the essential unity of its work.

Popular Conceptions of Community Organization.—In general the one central idea that runs through community organization in all its phases is that of coördination. It is primarily concerned with the adjustments and inter-relations of the social forces in community life. In every community there are agencies and institutions, such as the home, church, school, civic organizations, social agencies, clubs and associations of various kinds which are frequently working at cross-purposes with one another. Instead of an organized army working in accord with a unified plan, we have independent agencies interested primarily in their own methods of promoting the common welfare. No one agency is likely to see the community as a whole. Those interested in recreation may be tempted to exaggerate the need of playgrounds and forget that the community has inadequate facilities for caring for the sick. Those whose special task is to care for the poor and destitute may overlook the need of city planning. The public health expert may be too busy to give proper recognition to the need of libraries. What is needed is a unifying element that will enable the community to make a more concerted and comprehensive attack on its various problems.

It is this aspect of community life, which may be called in one sense, community disorganization, that is most commonly thought of as the problem of community organization. From the point of view of social workers the great need of communities is a better coördination of social service agencies. In order to bring this about councils of social agencies or

welfare federations have been widely established, especially in the larger cities. The chaotic condition caused by the sharp competition of highly specialized agencies is regarded as the great problem that needs remedying. Other problems of a similar nature may exist, as, for example, the conflicts between capital and labor, the inconsistencies and duplications in local government, or the rivalries of religious denominations, but no attempt is made to deal directly with them. Community organization is used in a very technical and limited sense to apply to the field of work in which social workers are primarily interested.

A somewhat different approach to the problem of community organization is seen in the community center movement which works through an association that comprises all the different groups in the community that make their headquarters in the community building. Very important activities may not be included in their association, but they justify their use of the term community organization on the ground that they are trying to enlist the whole community in support of certain activities. From this point of view community organization is simply the bringing together of closely related agencies and more or less formally organized groups of people that find it convenient to participate in the development of a community program.

The playground and recreation movement shares this same use of the term community organization with the exception that it is concerned with an even more limited purpose, namely, that of enlisting the support of the people of the entire community in behalf of leisure time activities. It may, however, attempt to coördinate all the agencies in the community interested in recreation, and in so far as this is done, the real function of community organization is closely approximated.

An attempt to make community organization more inclusive and extensive is seen in the work of the community councils, especially in the small towns and rural communities. The

rural organization work promoted by the Massachusetts State College of Agriculture is a notable example of a program that covered fairly well the whole field of social and economic welfare. But even this comprehensive program did not include the coördination of religious and governmental forces.

Theoretically the most inclusive plan of all was the Cincinnati Social Unit which established machinery designed to cover all phases of community life. But in its experimental work it did not get much farther than the promotion of its health program and so failed to demonstrate whether it could carry on its work successfully on a comprehensive basis.

The different types of work now being developed under the name of community organization make it clearly evident that the term is not sufficiently standardized to convey to every one the same meaning. In fact it is used so loosely to cover such a wide variety of types of community work that it may be regarded as a general term expressive of a modern tendency in social work rather than a technical term descriptive of a specific method of social organization.

Its Essential Nature.—Fundamentally community organization has to do with problems of accommodation and social adjustment. More specifically it is concerned with the interrelationships of groups within communities, their integration and coördination in the interest of efficiency and unity of action. In a wider sense it may also include the adjustment of a local community to the larger social unit of which it is a part. In order to understand the problem with which community organization is dealing, we must think of society as made up of elements more or less antagonistic to each other, which must through a process of accommodation develop a working arrangement that will resolve the conflicts and make consistent progress possible. Community organization is, therefore, not merely an essential process; it is also a continuous process in which adjustments are being made and remade to keep pace with changing conditions.

Viewed in this light community organization is not a re-

cent development. It has gone on ever since groups first intermingled, although the process has been for the most part unconscious and with a minimum of effective direction. The decline of laissez faire has been largely responsible for the recent growth of interest in community organization. Social workers especially have been quick to see the advantages that would result from a more intelligent effort to develop a satisfactory working arrangement between community agencies and institutions. For the most part their attempts have been limited to the field of social welfare. Their efforts at coördination in this limited field have brought forth convincing evidence of the wider relations of their work. The adjustments made between the social service agencies of a community cause the maladjustments of other institutions to stand out in a more striking manner. The success of the community organizer in the social work field depends largely, therefore, upon his ability to start in motion forces capable of bringing about the needed adjustments in all spheres of community life. At present there are many communities that are regarded as satisfactorily organized since they possess machinery for the correlation of their social agencies. It is apparent that such communities have taken but one step in a much wider process that to be complete must eventually include all their interests and activities.

A study of the different experiments in community organization reveals the fact that this work is frequently carried on in a very piece-meal fashion. Too much of it lacks in scope and in breadth of view, and consequently obscures the real nature of the problem with which it is dealing. To a large extent this has doubtless come about because of the complicated nature of the social unit with which community organization deals. We must remember that the community is not a simple unit which lends itself readily to analysis and manipulation. On the contrary, many diverse elements enter into the making of a community. For certain general purposes and especially under the stress of unusual circumstances

all within the community may feel themselves bound together by the same interests. But ordinarily the dominating fact about the individuals, families, and groups that compose a community is that they possess such a variety of attitudes and interests and characteristics that unity of action becomes exceedingly difficult.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that community organization gives expression to an ideal that is very difficult of complete realization. Perhaps the organization of a community must go forward in a more or less piecemeal fashion because of the very nature of the task. When we speak of organizing a community, we seldom are doing more than dealing with certain interests within the community. Groups or combinations of groups are being singled out for consideration or perhaps we are trying to get as many people in the community as possible to take interest in a specific problem or in a limited set of problems. Whether the device that is being used is a community council or a council of social agencies, it is clear that we are not manipulating the community as such but rather some of the individuals and groups within the community. The technique of community organization then must be found in connection with the manipulation and control of individuals and groups instead of in some wholesale means of influencing and directing the community itself. By looking upon community organization in this way it becomes concrete and tangible, and no longer looms up as an abstraction about which every one may easily differ.

Administrative Aspects of Community Organization.—From one point of view community organization may be regarded as an administrative problem. In a very real sense its success involves the development of administrative devices that promote coördination and stimulate unified community action. Much of the discussion of community organization deals with this phase of its activities. The point at issue is the effectiveness of this or that type of adminis-

trative machinery. In fact the different experiments in community organization may be classified with reference to their divergent theories of organization and administration. Some lay emphasis upon direct participation of all the people of a community; others attempt to accomplish their purpose by working through the existing agencies and institutions. The important question that arises is the nature of the organization to be built up. If it takes the form of a federation, it must be so designed that it will possess adequate power and prestige without supplanting in any way the agencies it represents. In the establishment of councils of social agencies it has sometimes been thought advisable to call attention to the fact that no new organization is being foisted upon the community, meaning evidently that no program is contemplated that would compete with its constituent agencies. On the other hand, other experiments in community organization, as for example, the Cincinnati Social Unit, build up an organization with a definite program of their own. It is significant that out of the councils of social agencies have been developed welfare federations with increasing administrative responsibilities that have tended to make them the outstanding social agency of the community.

This administrative aspect of community organization represents attempts to develop a mechanism applicable to specific situations and conditions. Uniformity of method and technique is not of course a goal to be sought. On the contrary any insistence on stereotyped forms or standard methods must be regarded as a backward step. General methods of procedure applicable to certain types of communities will probably be as far as we can go in developing a mechanism for community organization. Any attempt to do more than this in the way of standardization of method ignores the fact that no two communities are ever alike. Each community differing from every other in an infinite variety of ways stands out as an individual problem for the community worker.

Community Organization as a Problem of Social Change.—The real meaning of community organization appears when it is looked upon as an essential and continuous part of the social process and not merely as an administrative device that has been developed within recent years. Since men have always tended to form themselves into groups progress has depended upon man's ability to integrate these groups into the life of the community and thus minimize the dangers that grow out of maladjustments of conflicting interests. From the very beginning, man's group relationships have played a dominant part in his development. Through membership in these groups the satisfactions of life are made possible. When we analyze our feeling of loyalty to a community we see that it is based on the fact that the schools and the churches are progressive and efficient, that there are good facilities for recreation, that the industrial opportunities meet our requirements, and that we belong to groups of different kinds that have proven to be satisfying. In other words the community remains an abstraction until it is thought of in terms of the groups that compose it. It is a mistake to regard the community as a simple social unit that lends itself readily to manipulation and organization. On the contrary, community organization consists, for the most part, in dealing with groups or combinations of groups within a community, and in adjusting their differences so that all may exist side by side with a minimum of friction.

Community organization, viewed in this manner, is an inevitable process that is closely bound up with the whole problem of social change. In a great measure this process goes on without conscious or at least intelligent direction, and does not become a matter for public consideration until the maladjustment of groups leads to community disorganization and makes effective and united action impracticable. Under such circumstances progress depends upon the development of means that will facilitate the necessary adjustments between conflicting groups. What is needed is a unifying

element that will bring order out of chaos and make consistent progress possible. The outstanding fact of recent years is a clearer recognition of the need of better social adjustment which has led to carefully studied steps to bring this about. Community organization represents the attempt that is being made to solve this problem in a rational manner. As yet no great progress has been made in this direction, and perhaps little can be accomplished until we have a more thorough knowledge of the principles of collective behavior. To sociology and social psychology rather than to administrative science must we look for further light on the problem of community organization. On the other hand, may not the experience gained in organizing the community throw light upon a phase of sociology, that of social organization, and upon what is called in social psychology the social process?

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. How do you account for the increasing emphasis upon problems of community organization?

2. What are some of the different conceptions of community organization popularly held by those interested in social work? Is there any one idea running through all these conceptions which may be regarded as its fundamental characteristic?

3. Should the term "community organization" be limited to the field of social work? What are some of the difficulties involved in making it include all aspects of community life?

4. What means of measurement or standards would you use to determine whether a community is adequately organized? Would the existence of an efficient community council be taken as sufficient evidence that community organization has been effected?

5. What is the difference between group organization and community organization? Is community organization merely the coördination of the various groups of a community?

6. To what extent is community organization an administrative problem? How far can we expect to go in the direction of standardized administrative methods and devices?

7. Is it correct to state that community organization is primarily concerned with the maladjustment of conflicting interests within the community? Can you recall any experiment in community organization that does not deal with this problem?

8. Is there any well defined philosophy of community organization which is generally accepted by workers in this field?

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CHAPTER XXI

THEORIES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Attempts at Classification.—The comparatively brief history of the community organization movement has been characterized by experiments frequently sponsored by national agencies which have approached the problem in a more or less distinctive manner. It requires only a superficial study of these experiments to reveal the fact that community organization does not mean the same thing to all engaged in its promotion. From one point of view community organization has been attained when the social agencies are coördinated, while others insist that every phase of community work, whether economic, social, religious or political, must be included in a comprehensive plan of organization. To some, the paternalistic organization of the mill village seems well suited to certain types of industrial communities; to others, emphasis on democratic participation must be the keynote of all efforts to build up community life. It is this divergence both in purpose and in method that makes it difficult to classify satisfactorily the fifteen or twenty outstanding experiments in community organization. Should the essential differences be sought in methods of administration, in the geographical units dealt with, or in the philosophy upon which the experiment is based?

One of the first attempts to classify the types of community organization was made by Professor Sanderson who found his basis for classification in differences in administrative methods. Through an analysis of the membership of the community council or board of directors he discovered three general types of organization in common use to which he sug-

gested that there be added a functional type.[1] Professor Lindeman later adopted a similar method of classification, but used the terms, direct, indirect, and compound, to distinguish his three theories of community organization.[2] In his discussion of the correlation of social agencies Professor Queen approached the problem in a more general way, and described five outstanding forms,—correlation through state and national societies, through supervision, councils of social agencies, financial federations, and amalgamation.[3] Another method of classification is to place the emphasis on the different geographical units dealt with, as, for example, rural, urban, county, consolidated school district, and neighborhood. Since the various types of community organization have usually been tried out in different kinds of communities, this method of classification involves a great amount of overlapping and is not at all satisfactory. Perhaps no satisfactory classification is possible as long as the field of community organization retains such indefinite boundary lines. For purposes of discussion in this chapter the following six theories have been differentiated under which rather arbitrarily may be grouped the diverse experiments in community organization: (1) theory of individualism, (2) theory of supervision, (3) theory of federation, (4) theory of democratic participation, (5) theory of paternalism, (6) theory of amalgamation.

Theory of Individualism.—At first glance the theory of individualism would seem to have no place in the philosophy of community organization. There is, however, an individualistic approach to community work in which the specialized agency endeavors to play its part in the community program without endangering in the slightest way its full control over all its policies. Community organization is thought of as getting the entire community to support a definite program.

[1] Sanderson, "Four Types of Community Organization," *Survey*, May 21, 1921.
[2] Lindeman, *The Community*, ch. 10.
[3] Queen, *Social Work in the Light of History*, ch. 2.

If the problem is the development of leisure time activities, the organized community is one that adequately supports the agency or agencies engaged in a program of this kind. Community Service Incorporated actively promoted this type of community organization with additional emphasis upon its rôle as coördinator of efforts in the leisure time field. One of the first experiments in community organization, that of the charity organization movement, was of a similar nature. The chief purpose was the coördination of the relief work of a given community, but this was brought about by the establishment of a specialized organization with a program of its own which the entire community was urged to support. It is apparent that community organization of this kind deals with only one type of community problem and results in enhancing the prestige and influence of the specialized agency instead of calling attention to the wider problems of the entire community.

This approach to the problem of community organization, which is here called the theory of individualism, may be regarded as an inevitable accompaniment of the transition stage from the era of specialized agencies working independently to an era of thorough-going community organization characterized by emphasis upon a comprehensive program for the community as a whole. At the present stage of development of community organization this theory of individualism holds wide sway, and is reflected in the attitude of many agencies toward efforts to bring about better coördination of their work.

Theory of Supervision.—Among the more conservative methods of promoting community organization the theory of supervision is perhaps the most important. A natural first step to be taken by independent agencies somewhat conscious of ill-coördinated programs is to devise some machinery to which may be entrusted a greater or less degree of supervisory powers. A mild approach to the development of machinery of this kind is the organization of an annual

conference in which all the agencies concerned hold membership. The meeting together and discussion of common problems removes misunderstandings and paves the way for a better coördinated attack on social problems. Recommendations may be made concerning certain policies which may or may not be accepted by the conference members. But such recommendations carry weight when they are made by persons of experience and known ability and result in the development of common standards and build up a spirit of coöperation. The conference in this way develops powers of supervision informal in nature, and yet increasingly effective as the conference gains strength and prestige. The National Conference of Charities and Correction, now the National Conference of Social Work, during the fifty years of its history has been a coördinating factor of immense value. Following its example state conferences of social work have been organized which have attempted to carry out in a more intensive way the policies of the National Conference. Other national organizations in their limited fields of work have operated in a similar manner, and have been very influential in controlling the development of policies and standards. Among such organizations using the conference method of supervision and correlation may be mentioned the American Prison Association, National Federation of Settlements, National Probation Association, American Country Life Association, and the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers Associations.

But the annual conference, however influential it may become, possesses only indirect supervisory powers. The theory of supervision cannot be put into effective operation unless the national organization develops machinery adapted to that purpose. A small group of national organizations which have definitely adopted the policy of supervision maintain either a division organization with a field staff or other means of keeping in close touch with their local branches. The American Red Cross is a notable example of an organization of this

kind which has developed more elaborate supervising machinery than has been attempted by other organizations. Their facilities for direct communication with local chapters through correspondence and visits of field representatives make possible a unified program, and consistent policies. It is apparent that supervision of this direct kind affects not merely the local chapter but the social work of the entire community. Conferences with other agencies are held as a matter of course for the purpose of determining the place of the local chapter in the community program. Since the Red Cross possesses machinery of this kind, it is no accident that this organization has so frequently assumed a position of leadership in promoting community organization.

Among the other national agencies that have a definite policy of extending their supervision to local communities are the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, National Tuberculosis Association, National Visiting Teacher Association, the Salvation Army, and the National Travelers' Aid Association. The far-reaching influence of these and similar organizations must be given prominent consideration in estimating the forces that are guiding the development of the community organization movement. Few local communities carry on their community work without at least some assistance given by one or more national agencies. The rapid growth of national agencies in recent years, and their vigorous attempts to secure local acceptance of their programs and policies have made possible an unusual demonstration of the value of supervision as a means of promoting community organization.

The logical culmination of the policy of supervision is best seen perhaps in the newer activities of State departments of public welfare. The earlier Boards of Charities and Corrections limited their activities largely to a routine inspection and supervision of institutions engaged in relief and correctional work. As long as their work was largely of this nature, their influence only remotely affected the field of

community organization. But the present tendency to enlarge their scope of activities so as to include the correlation of private and public agencies, and the promotion of constructive community programs has given a new significance to the work of these public agencies. Their powers of supervision are conferred by statute and in some cases may be enforced by police power. Unlike the private agency, their suggestions carry the weight of public authority and when their leadership is of the right kind their influence is widely felt. Supervision of community work by well organized state departments of public welfare may eventually become one of the most effective methods of bringing about the coördination of community agencies.

Theory of Federation.—One of the best known types of community organization has taken the form of a federation of agencies. The community is thought of as organized when its more important agencies have united their forces in a federation or council which has for its chief purpose the promotion of a well coördinated and comprehensive community program. The machinery of such a federation is simple. Each organization appoints its official representatives to serve as members of the federation. Built up in this manner the federation is not a super-organization with arbitrary powers of control over the individual agencies, but is merely a means for expressing the combined will of all its members. As has been well said, it is primarily a device to make team work easy. The council of social agencies is one of the early and popular forms of federation that has had a wide vogue. As it is usually organized it is not a pure federation since it ordinarily admits to its membership a few members-at-large who represent the public rather than separate agencies. But these representatives of the public are in the minority and do not in any essential way modify the nature of the federation which is interested mainly in working through the agencies of the community.

Patterned somewhat after the plan of the council of so-

cial agencies is the community council which has usually included a wider scope of agencies and, therefore, is more fully representative of all the interests of the community. The Council of National Defense during the late war adopted this theory of federation, and was very successful in utilizing it as a means of securing united community action. The community councils promoted by the Massachusetts State College of Agriculture are another example of this type of community organization, although considerably modified by the use made of the public mass meeting.

The so-called financial federation or community chest movement carries this theory of organization still further by binding the individual agencies more compactly together through the adoption of a joint financial budget. When the agencies comprising a federation pool their financial resources and submit their individual budgets to the scrutiny of a joint budget committee, the problems of coördination are likely to be attacked in a more resolute and authoritative manner. A federation of this kind, however, can not be inclusive of all the agencies of a community, for some derive their income through taxation and others find it unnecessary to appeal to the public for financial support. Nevertheless the financial federation binds together in an unusually effective way the most influential of the privately supported agencies, and frequently becomes an outstanding force in promoting community organization.

The growing popularity of the federation type of community organization is seen in the tendency to form federations in almost every field of community activity. Federations of churches, federations of women's clubs, federations of labor unions, and federations of educational agencies are common examples that show the trend toward this type of organization. One of the chief advantages of this plan of federation is that it enables the agencies and institutions to present a united front in their community work. On the other hand, the federation by concentrating its attention on

the organized portion of the community tends to minimize the necessity of cultivating the direct interest of the people themselves in problems of community progress.

Theory of Democratic Participation.—An entirely different theory of community organization grows out of the assumption that the community is a sufficiently compact and manageable unit to enable all the people to participate directly in the formulation of the community program or, if this seems impracticable, to elect their own representatives who are chosen on the basis of their ability and not as official delegates of individual agencies. The simplest form of an organization of this kind is the village or neighborhood improvement association whose membership is open to all citizens of the community. In places where this organization is the outstanding one in the community it may both formulate and carry out its own program which is made as comprehensive as the public will support. Where specialized agencies are already at work in considerable number its emphasis may be limited to the formulation of a community program instead of engaging in community activities of its own. But in any case its outstanding feature is the provision of machinery whereby the people themselves may directly participate in the development of their community work.

This theory of democratic participation forms the fundamental philosophy of a number of different experiments in community organization. They vary, however, in the extent of the control placed in the hands of the people. The American Red Cross, for example, seems to provide for the full participation of the public in the government of its local chapters, but its national organization, which determines general policies, is highly centralized, and responds only indirectly to the will of the general membership. The Farm Bureau, through its membership open to all the farmers upon the payment of a nominal fee, provides a democratic type of organization which has proven unusually effective in the economic field where its activities have been largely concen-

trated. The Community Center Association with its headquarters in the public school or other community building, and supported by the families living in the immediate neighborhood forms perhaps the best example of this democratic theory operating along traditional lines.

But experiments of the above kind even at their best have only in theory gained wide popular support. The door is open to participation of all the people, but the widespread indifference of the public frequently means that the community organization is managed by a small group possibly no larger than that found in the federation type of organization. The difficulty may be at least partly in the inappropriateness of the mass meeting or of membership open to the public as machinery for enlisting the support of the people. The experiment carried out by the Cincinnati Social Unit Organization turned aside from these traditional devices and endeavored to develop more effective methods of getting the people to participate in the organization of their communities. In the combination of its citizens' council based on the block system of representation and its occupational council the Social Unit plan seemed peculiarly well adapted to bring the organization close to the people, and at the same time make proper use of the skilled services of those in the community best qualified to give leadership. In theory at least the Social Unit Organization stands out as the most intelligent attempt to put into practice the theory of democratic participation.

The so-called functional type of organization proposed by Professor Dwight Sanderson and Dr. J. K. Hart, departs less widely from traditional methods and deserves special mention because it is an attempt to make possible the direct participation of the people without neglecting the interests of the agencies actively at work in the community. As described by Professor Sanderson the organization is to be based "upon the principle of representation by common interests rather than by representation of existing organizations. . . . The com-

munity council would be composed of the chairman or representatives of the committees of the organizations and by a certain number of directors elected at large by the community meeting in which all citizens would be voters. The different committees would be composed of accredited delegates from all organizations concerned in the work of the respective committees. . . . Thus the committee on health would include representatives of the local board of health, the Red Cross, nursing association, grange, Christian associations, and any others with a definite interest in a health program. In short it would be the 'health coördination committee' now being advocated by our state health boards. Each local organization, official, or institution would have representation on as many committees as were related to its field of work. It might be well for the community council to name a certain number of citizens at large on each of these committees because of their special interest in or qualifications for their work. Each committee would then elect its own chairman who would represent that interest, or project on the community council. Under such an arrangement opportunity is afforded for all elements to get together for the consideration of their common objects, and direct participation of local associations and agencies is provided, but the council is made up of those chosen for their special fitness to lead certain enterprises and not as representatives of organizations."[4]

For the more progressive and advanced communities where a considerable number of people are actively interested in a better organization of their community activities, a scheme of organization of this kind offers some advantages. But in the average community where there is a dearth of good leadership, the make-up of the council is likely to be much the same no matter what the type of organization, and it is

[4] Sanderson, "Some Fundamentals of Rural Community Organization," *Proceedings National Country Life Conference*, 1920, pp. 75-76.

doubtful if the device of regarding its members as representatives of interests rather than of agencies will increase to any great extent the effectiveness of its work.

Theory of Paternalism.—From one point of view paternalism is one of the chief evils that community organization is designed to combat. The early development of social work enterprises was distinctly of a benevolent paternalistic nature fostered by the people of wealth and influence, who desired to do something for the lower classes. The growth of the community organization movement has in one sense been a protest against this traditional attitude. Nevertheless the theory of paternalism possesses obvious advantages which tend to perpetuate it even though inconsistent with the newer democratic ideals. Under paternalistic control a few influential leaders can go ahead with their progressive policies without waiting for the support of the masses. In the promotion of community organization as well as in the older forms of social work, centralized authority not merely seems to speed up the process, but makes it possible for the movement to be guided more readily in the desired direction. It is not surprising, therefore, that some forms of community organization should be tinged with the spirit and methods of paternalism. A familiar example is seen in the tendency in some cities to develop a financial federation of agencies under the control of the larger contributors. The community chest movement in its recent rapid advance through the South has been frequently fostered by financial leaders who have paid little attention to the democratic aspects of community organization. The financial federation just because of the power that goes along with financial control faces continually the danger of operating in an arbitrary manner and tending to weaken popular interest in the federated agencies.

But the theory of paternalism finds its most complete expression in the community work fostered by employers in certain types of industrial communities. The Southern cotton mill village offers an excellent illustration of this form of

community organization. The population of the typical mill village consists almost entirely of employees who seldom possess the education, social vision, and qualities of leadership that would enable them to develop agencies and institutions of high standards. Left to themselves they would ordinarily be helpless in dealing with even their most elementary community problems. Under such circumstances the employer, moved perhaps both by humanitarian grounds and by the desire to increase the efficiency of his workers, almost inevitably assumes a paternalistic attitude. Since he owns the whole village it is natural that he should attempt to build up a community of a higher grade by directing all its activities. His field of leadership, therefore, is not limited to industrial management, but extends also to the control of the institutions of the community. He builds the school and the church, and assumes large responsibility for the direction of their policies and programs. He runs the stores in which his employees purchase their goods. He rents to the people the houses in which they live. If the people form their own local government, it is understood that all ordinances passed should conform to the general policy of the mill. The community house is built for the benefit of the people, but the nature of its activities is not left entirely to public decision. All that is required of the people is their acceptance of the facilities with which they have been provided. Responsibility for the organization of the community does not rest on their shoulders. As long as they submit to authority and follow the direction of the employer, the life of the community goes on smoothly. And when this paternalistic regime is in good hands, it results in well appearing homes, adequately equipped schools and churches, and a good community center that makes excellent provision for recreational needs. Thrown on their own resources the people with their present limitations could not be expected to construct a village offering so many material advantages. But the effect of this form of community organization on the initiative and resourcefulness and char-

acter of the people themselves is a problem that requires more extended investigation. Possibly paternalism of this kind is an intermediate step in community progress that is justifiable in a backward social situation. On the other hand, are not some of the most serious problems of the mill village traceable to the fact that the people are given no incentive to develop those qualities which are regarded as fundamental for good citizenship?

Theory of Amalgamation.—In the theory of amalgamation, which requires the separate agencies to unite in a single organization with centralized control, is found the most radical and thorough-going attempt to solve the difficult problem of coördination. Instead of establishing a central council with a greater or less degree of control over its member agencies which still maintain their separate existence, these agencies relinquish their independence and form bureaus or divisions within a large centralized organization.

This theory of community organization seems, at first glance, to be a step toward autocracy and, therefore, incompatible with present democratic tendencies. The amalgamation of agencies, however, does not necessarily carry along with it autocratic control, although that form of organization may under certain circumstances facilitate domination by a small group of influential leaders. The determining factor, in the last analysis, is the extent of the interest of the people in the work of organizing their community. Democratic participation in the control of a single community-wide organization is just as possible as it is in the case of a number of independent agencies. This is clearly illustrated by the type of amalgamation represented by the development of county departments of public welfare which administer all the social welfare activities provided for by law. Amalgamation of this kind means centralized, but not of necessity arbitrary control for the public officials are employees of the people and must be responsive to the public will. Its chief danger is not autocratic control by the few, but rather the inadequacy of

administrative facilities which frequently causes the amalgamation of the public agencies to be more nominal than real.

The theory of amalgamation has also been tried out to a limited extent in the field of private social agencies through the formation of a social welfare league in which these agencies are merged. Under this plan of organization the various agencies that have entered the league become entirely subject to its direction. Since this involves a radical change of status of such agencies, the establishment of a social welfare league is not readily brought about in a community where the independent agencies are already securely entrenched. Where such leagues have been formed, the agreement to amalgamate is usually entered into by only a portion of the agencies of the community. A step toward the amalgamation of private and public agencies is seen in the so-called Iowa plan which provides a central organization for the administration of the private charities of the community and the public poor fund. This, however, is limited to only one type of agencies and has not yet given promise of wide acceptance.

The theory of amalgamation usually finds its chief supporters among the large contributors who desire to increase the efficiency of social work by utilizing the plan of combination of interests so common in the industrial world. Social work executives, as a rule, oppose any plan that requires an organic union of their forces, and claim that all the essential advantages of such a union can be gained through federation. Unless the increasing difficulty of securing adequate financial support for private social service agencies forces the issue, it is doubtful if the movement for their amalgamation will make much progress. In the field of public agencies on the other hand, the situation is quite different. The present tendency, as it appears in the public welfare movement, is to unite the widely scattered activities carried on under different public auspices. Amalgamation of public social agencies seems not only feasible but also a necessity if their efficient administration is to be made possible.

Significance of Divergent Theories.—From this analysis of the more important theories of community organization, it is apparent that there is no general agreement as to the methods to be followed or even the goal to be attained. As long as these widely divergent theories command a following, it is useless to attempt to define community organization in anything more than very general terms. The present status of experiments in this field gives little ground for belief that they are converging on a standardized process that will be generally applicable to all sorts of communities. On the contrary, they must be regarded as a part of a general movement, still ill-defined and somewhat confused, but nevertheless expressive of a strongly felt need for a more efficient control of community life. These various theories represent concrete efforts to develop types of organization best suited to definite communities. Since communities differ in innumerable ways, the problem of community organization will always involve the necessity of choosing the procedure best adapted to any particular situation. As Professor Sanderson has well said: "There can be no one best type of community organization adapted to the widely varying conditions of all sorts and sizes of rural communities. Certain principles may be suggested, and all of them need very much more carefully collected and critically digested evidence based on actual experience before we can be dogmatic in their support, and these principles should receive careful consideration in the formation of a community organization. But after all, each community must receive an individual diagnosis and the form of its organization must be adapted to it. The important thing is not the creating of another new organization in the community, but to afford the means for the greater efficiency of the existing organizations and agencies through united action, and for the creation of any others which may be needed. Community organization consists not in the mechanism but in the process of unification of interests resulting in community character, quite analogous to the organization of the self of

the individual. The mechanism must, therefore, depend upon the character and stage of development of the community, and will be modified from time to time as its experience, or that of similar community organizations, warrants."[5]

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Why is it difficult to make a satisfactory classification of the different types of experiments in community organization?

2. Make a list of the experiments in community organization in which the emphasis seems to be on community-wide support of highly specialized programs. What is the distinction, if any, between efforts of this nature and the work of the ordinary social service agency?

3. Describe the different ways in which supervision may be used in bringing about a greater degree of unity in the work of social work agencies. What are the limitations of this method?

4. How do you explain the widespread popularity of the theory of federation? Does the federation plan operate successfully when it includes all the agencies of a community, no matter how divergent they may be in nature and purpose?

5. What are some of the devices used to make community organization democratic? How far are they successful in accomplishing their purpose?

6. It is sometimes said that the financial federation is likely to become a "big stick" which will make it increasingly difficult to organize and maintain unpopular but much needed agencies. To what extent is this a real danger?

7. What are the fundamental objections to the paternalistic method of community organization? In what situations may paternalism be justifiable?

8. Can you give evidence of any trend toward the amalgamation of agencies in the field of social work?

[5] Sanderson, "Some Fundamentals of Rural Community Organization," *Proceedings National Country Life Conference*, 1920, pp. 76-77.

9. What are the chief obstacles to the formation of so-called social service leagues in which the different phases of social work would be provided for in departments or bureaus under control of the central organization?

10. Would such a plan of centralized control be a suitable solution of the problem of social work organization in the smaller population centers?

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CHAPTER XXII

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND THE CROWD SPIRIT

The Modern Trend Toward Crowd Phenomena.—It has been well said that this is an age of crowds. No matter what the issue to be decided, reliance is placed upon the emotional appeal rather than upon arguments. Wherever men band themselves together in behalf of any cause, the first search is for slogans and watchwords. The devices of skilled propagandists are resorted to in order to win the support of a constituency. The reluctant and indifferent public is whipped into line by sensational advertising that flaunts itself on every hand. It seems to be taken for granted that thoughtful deliberation is out of date and appeals to intelligence based on actual facts bring in very limited returns. In the vivid words of Martin:

"Our society is becoming a veritable babel of crowds. Not only are mob outbreaks and riots increasing in number, but every interest, patriotic, religious, ethical, political, economic, easily degenerates into a confusion of propagandist tongues, into extravagant partisanship, and intemperance. . . .

"Whether it is temperance, or justice, or greater freedom, moral excellence or national glory, that we desire—whether we happen to be conservatives or radicals, reformers or liberals, we must become a cult, write our philosophy of life in flaming headlines, and sell our cause in the market. No matter if we meanwhile surrender every value for which we stand, we must strive to cajole the majority into imagining itself on our side. For only with the majority with us, whoever we are, can we live. It is numbers, not values, that count—quantity not quality. Everybody must 'moral crusade', 'agitate', 'press-agent', play politics. Everyone is forced to speak as the crowd, think as the crowd, understand as the crowd. The tendency is to smother all that is unique, rare,

delicate, secret. If you are to get anywhere in this progressive age, you must be vulgar, you must add to your vulgarity, unction. You must take sides upon dilemmas which are but half true, change the tempo of your music to ragtime, eat your spiritual food with a knife, drape yourself in the flag of the dominant party. In other words you must be 'one hundred percent' crowd man.''[1]

That this characterization of present day tendencies is timely seems apparent from even a cursory examination of our most ordinary community activities. In the field of politics the crowd spirit plays an exceedingly important part. The political leader is well aware that far more is to be gained by the use of high-sounding platitudes and well-worn phrases than by intellectual appeal. Whether it be the absurd spectacle of a stampeded political convention or the more subtle attempts to control the votes of the rank and file in every community, the methods followed are fundamentally similar. So widespread have become these practices, that skill in handling men in mass is recognized as one of the first requisites of the political leader. In such a regime politics as the science of government—the "noblest of the sciences"—seems sadly far-fetched, and the politician as a leader of men, a hopeless misfit. Even in the field of education how dangerously near the crowd method we approach in our standardized efforts to mold the child in accord with our will and instill into his mind a reverence for the status quo. And possibly even more significant is the effect on educational policy of the mass appeal of the popular demand for something the folk want but know not what. In religion, how appropriate straight thinking is on this subject may be seen from the skill with which the professional evangelist transcends in his appeal to the crowd, the methods and policies of those progressive churches that place their reliance upon sound principles of religious education. The manipulation of crowds in the excitement and enthusiasm of the revival service is still in some quarters

[1] Martin, *Behavior of Crowds*, pp. 6-8.

a recognized form of religious work, and as a result religious expression is all too frequently bound up with intense emotionalism, suggestibility, and other manifestations of crowd phenomena. In industry and business as well, examples of the crowd spirit are legion. It is only necessary to call attention to the work of the labor agitator, the varied devices of the salesman, and the methods of the capitalist reactionary to indicate how securely it is entrenched in the economic field.

In an even more striking manner the widespread prevalence of the crowd spirit is illustrated in the programs and rituals of certain civic and fraternal organizations that have had such a vogue during recent years. While the membership of these organizations is largely made up of business and professional men who individually would resent any imputation of sentimentality and emotionalism, yet collectively in their club meetings they lay great stress upon ritualistic devices as a means of securing unity of spirit and the proper degree of enthusiasm. Singing popular songs in which all are expected to join, snappy speeches full of platitudes reiterating the ideals of the group, stimulation of the spirit of comradeship by the use of nicknames, horseplay, and good humored badinage, and efforts to secure united action by the force of suggestion and emotional appeal are characteristic features without which it is felt that their meetings would be uninteresting and futile. Clubs of this kind cannot be satisfactorily explained on the ground that they represent groups of men banded together for the promotion of important civic interests. The civic and social welfare issues which are always kept in the foreground and advocated with great earnestness and sincerity serve primarily the purpose of justifying to themselves and to the public the existence of the organization. The fundamental reason for the continued popularity of these clubs is found in the enhancement of personality and feeling of enrichment of life made possible by their enthusiastic and harmonious meetings. The secret of their success

lies in the ritual which brings all under the domination of the crowd spirit and thus adds a zest to life not found in their ordinary association.

The rapid spread of the Ku Klux Klan furnishes another outstanding example of the extent to which the crowd spirit has permeated present-day community life. In explanation of the recent revival of this old organization various reasons have been advanced. Without doubt it is essentially a crowd movement stimulated and enhanced by the conditions following in the wake of the late war. In the South the organization exerts a powerful appeal because it revives memories of earlier achievements when its members rendered valuable service to the state. Supported by this worthy tradition which is translated into modern terms by the slogan "one hundred per cent American", the Klan has cast over it the glamour of service needed to gain popular approval. When to this is added its secret membership, secret meetings, and its uncanny disguise, it is apparent that it is admirably adapted to become a powerful crowd movement. Inferior individuals deprived of the opportunity of achievement in their daily life can masquerade under cover of their masks as persons of importance and enjoy that expansion of self that grows out of intimate association with a powerful group. Since our whole society seems infected with the crowd spirit, intelligent and influential people as well are swept off their feet by the appeal of the Klan and blindly lend their support to its further progress.

Application of Crowd Methods to Community Work.— When we turn to the field of social welfare and community work, there is abundant evidence that the crowd spirit is exerting a dominating influence. For example, the financial drives of welfare federations and community chests with their campaign speeches, graphic appeals for support, carefully organized publicity, banners, slogans, and devices to keep up the morale of competing teams of workers, make every effort to "go over the top" on the crest of a wave of popular

enthusiasm. For months preceding the drive the emphasis may be on education and organization, but the drive itself, if successful, becomes almost inevitably a crowd movement.

Another illustration is found in the promotion of community agencies by the use of the mass meeting. Theoretically, such meetings are designed to give the largest possible participation of the people in the building up of the organization. But in practice they are frequently planned with the sole purpose of giving expression to the will of those on the inside of the movement. The resolutions are carefully prepared in advance of the meeting and suitable persons are asked to present them. Others may be requested to be ready to occupy all the time set apart for discussion. The meeting is not conducted as an open forum with full opportunity for the presentation of all sides. It is simply a prearranged attempt to get the people in attendance to endorse the plan conceived and fostered by a few interested leaders. And in producing this result emphasis is placed on inspirational addresses that reiterate the point of view of the promoters until critical thought is dulled and all become suggestible to the ideas advanced.

A further example of the control of the mass of the people in the interests of community work is found in the carefully arranged publicity and the means used for its dissemination. One of the first requisites of an up-to-date community agency is well-organized methods of providing the public with the information that experience has shown is most likely to secure favorable support. Where possible, this is done through a paid publicity staff. At all events, there must be a publicity committee composed of persons skilled in the popular presentation of their ideas. Under the direction of such writers the news given out concerning the work of the agency frequently takes the form of propaganda instead of being a clear statement of facts for the information of the public. The people learn only what is thought best for them to know and this is presented in a popular rather than in a critical

manner. This use of organized publicity tends to warp the judgment of those who come under its influence and makes it exceedingly difficult for the public to weigh intelligently the merits of any issue.

Another illustration of recent tendencies in social work is the father-and-son banquet that has become popular in many communities. A small number of people have their interest aroused by the fact that juvenile delinquency seems to be increasing. Observation and study may show that this is a result in a number of cases of boys drifting away from the influence of their fathers. A decade ago this might have been regarded as a problem demanding individual treatment in the families concerned. But at the present time to rely on the case work method alone would be thought to be entirely inadequate. These unfortunate failures in family life must be approached from the point of view of community responsibility. The situation must therefore be dealt with by utilizing the pressure of public opinion. In order to develop right relationships in the delinquent homes, the value of the comradeship of father and son is demonstrated in a spectacular way by arranging a father-and-son banquet. As a result of eating together in a large group and listening to speeches suited to the occasion a new spirit is supposed to be engendered which will have a stimulating effect on proper parental supervision. In other words, the problem is to be solved by the organization of a popular movement intended to dramatize the ideal relationship of fathers and sons for the benefit of those families where parental responsibility has been breaking down.

The above illustrations, which might easily be multiplied in number, are sufficient to indicate both the American tendency to organize for all conceivable purposes and the methods commonly employed to make this organization effective. As soon as a wrong is discovered which should be righted or a reform appears desirable, those most directly interested begin to study and plan how to increase their influence and per-

suade others to join them in their purposes. To rely upon organization designed to promote its ends through discussion and education seems too slow and futile. Present-day leaders demand a more rapid and stimulating procedure. The crowd spirit must be appealed to in an effort to put their cause over in an orgy of enthusiasm that sweeps all opposition before it. It thus becomes a commonly accepted device by which a minority holds the whip hand over large numbers of people. And more remarkable still, as has already been suggested, small and exclusive groups make use of this crowd spirit as they would a stimulating drug to furnish the emotional thrills denied them in the routine of daily toil.

Community Organization a Protest against the Crowd Spirit.—Against this mania for the promotion of causes through emotional appeals, the community organization movement stands out as a vigorous protest. Fundamentally it is a call to the people of a community to take stock of themselves and their problems in a dispassionate manner and through discussion and the exercise of deliberative judgment to work out means for the correlation of their social forces. Of course since there is involved in this task the necessity of persuading people to work together for what is conceived to be their mutual welfare, the community organizer finds convenient for his use the tools of the propagandist. Instead of achieving his ends through the formation of discussion groups and the deliberation of committees and agencies, he has the opportunity of adapting to his purposes the methods of the revivalist and the political orator. That this is a very real problem is seen from the examples of the crowd spirit in social welfare work, mentioned above. In many instances there can be no doubt that the community organization movement has been swept from its moorings and has become simply one more voice calling upon the herd to follow blindly its leadership.

Herein appears one of the perils of this rapidly growing movement. The different agencies it seeks to bind together

in a unifying way have to a large degree been the product of a benevolent paternalism. In fact, very little social work has had its origin in the efforts of the mass of the people to improve their own condition. The usual procedure is for a few influential leaders to promote the organization, determine its purposes and methods, and then endeavor in various ways to swing the public into line. With this tradition as a guide it is not strange if community organization tends to become a super-organization seeking to achieve its ends through an exercise of arbitrary power. It is the fear that this may take place that causes some people to look with disfavor upon the recent development of financial federations of social agencies in our larger cities. Representing as they do the combined agencies of the city, they hold a position of influence never dreamed possible by individual organizations in the past. When coupled with the strength that goes along with an united front there is added the power inherent in financial control, it can be seen that the financial federations are a force of far-reaching importance. The present trend toward financial federations is a logical and perhaps inevitable movement, since it is merely carrying over into the social work field the prevailing methods and ideals of business administration. It is by no means to be criticized because of its strength. On the contrary, it should be a source of satisfaction that social welfare programs are at last being placed in a position where they must be given the attention they merit.

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that a powerful organization of this kind which has grown up in the midst of the paternalistic atmosphere of the social work field must guard itself carefully if it is not to be drawn into the vortex of the widely prevalent crowd movement. Its leaders cannot fail to be tempted to utilize their advantageous position as a means for the coercion of the people into doing what it is felt they ought to do. The resources of organized publicity and the various kinds of propaganda are available for the

accomplishment of their purpose. It would be surprising indeed if the crowd spirit found no place in the promotion of their programs.

A similar danger is apparent in some of the efforts made to promote community organization in the smaller cities and communities. Whether it is the organization of the leisure time activities of the people, the promotion of a community center, or the development of a village improvement association, the community leaders are likely to rely upon the inspirational speech and similar means in order to bring about the desired result. In their zeal to reach their goal they may pass lightly over the need of a period of discussion and deliberation and endeavor to carry their point by emotional appeals. They fall the more readily into this procedure because it is the method to which the mass of the people is accustomed. Sensational advertising, political propaganda, and ready-made programs that require nothing but the stamp of popular approval are commonly accepted devices for getting things done. In organizing a community for any purpose the line of least resistance is to regard the people as a crowd to be manipulated in accord with the desires of its self-appointed leaders.

Group Discussion Versus the Emotional Appeal.—But, in spite of this insidious influence of the crowd spirit, community organization is essentially a group rather than a crowd movement. This is seen very clearly in the Cincinnati Social Unit Organization which stands out as a notable attempt to get all the people of a community to participate directly and intelligently in the control of their affairs. In their block councils, citizens' councils, and occupational councils, emphasis is placed on group action growing out of a thoughtful discussion of the problem at hand. Under such a scheme of organization the mass meeting has a place but it carries with it the atmosphere of the open forum. The whole plan is designed to discourage efforts to put over things which the people do not understand. The policies of the organization

grow out of the vaguely expressed wishes of the people and when formulated by those chosen for that purpose are reinterpreted to the rank and file by the block workers in their neighborly contacts and daily intercourse. It needs no elaboration to indicate the wide gulf between such a procedure and the very prevalent practice of those who gain their ends by relying upon suggestion and imitation.

Community councils also, however widely they may vary in details of organization, are characterized by their emphasis on bringing together different groups in the community for the discussion and adoption of plans and policies. Their work through committees, their insistence on facts secured through studies of actual conditions, and their efforts to get all to participate in the formulation of a flexible program covering a period of years, are evidence of a method of procedure that has little in common with a purely emotional appeal.

It is this emphasis upon working through groups rather than through crowds that is one of the chief contributions of the community organization movement to present-day society. The recent widespread interest in the promotion of community programs has brought the social worker into intimate touch with skilled propagandists interested in various kinds of reforms. If their devices are adopted, there is a very real danger that social work of a preventive nature may become very little more than a crowd movement characterized by attempts to cajole or force people to fall into line. This does not mean, of course, that there is no place in social work for dealing with people in mass. Recognition must be given to the value of the mass meeting as a means of arousing popular interest and enthusiasm. The emotion that sweeps over a crowded and tense gathering may bring about renewed courage and create the will to achieve. But the nature of its limitations should be kept in mind. The community enterprise that seeks to gain its purpose by catering to the whims of the crowd is likely to be as superficial and ephemeral as the crowd spirit it invokes. There is a very real peril that

the crowd spirit may become the chief note in the promotion of social work. Community organization is rendering a much needed service by insisting that crowd enthusiasm cannot take the place of group discussion in building up a community program.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Give illustrations out of your own observation showing the wide reliance upon the technique of manipulating crowds as a means of promoting various causes.
2. How do you explain the wide vogue of the many quasi-civic clubs and organizations that have grown so rapidly during the past few years?
3. To what extent is the Ku Klux Klan a product of the present-day crowd movement?
4. Criticize the mass meeting as a method of securing popular approval and support of a proposed community program.
5. Describe types of publicity used by community workers which place undue emphasis upon the emotional appeal.
6. Has the community organization movement thus far shown a tendency to rely upon group discussion rather than upon methods of crowd control?
7. Discuss critically the methods used by community chest leaders in gaining popular support of their financial drives.
8. How far is it justifiable for the community worker to utilize the technique of handling crowds in the promotion of his programs?

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CHAPTER XXIII

SUMMARY OF PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Out of the various experiments in community organization have come certain generalizations which may very properly be regarded as tentative principles applicable to the entire movement. As long as these generalizations are looked upon as hypotheses subject to further verification, they occupy their true status, and their formulation represents a distinct advance in clarifying the problems at issue. The difficulty is that each experiment is likely to have its enthusiastic advocates whose zeal inclines them to impute universal validity to their conclusions even though based on insufficient data. When one considers further how widely different and even contradictory are some of the theories of community organization, it is evident that generally accepted principles cannot readily be found. In spite of the very laudable desire of community organizers to establish reliable principles that may be used as a basis for action, the fact remains that the movement is too new and undeveloped to make possible much satisfactory progress in this direction. The principles that have been set forth are often conflicting in nature so that it is still impossible to have any real agreement concerning some of the most common problems faced by community workers. Nevertheless, there is being built up an increasing body of experience which is tending to give a greater degree of unity to the community organization movement. In the paragraphs which follow an attempt is made through a brief discussion of important matters of policy and method to indicate the progress that is being made in establishing principles of com-

munity organization that are more or less widely accepted. For the most part this discussion takes the form of a summarized statement of principles that have grown out of the various types of experiments described in Part II.

Flexibility of Method.—It is now quite generally held that the type of community organization must be flexible and adaptable to widely varying needs and situations. Such a conclusion seems reasonable in view of the different types of units organized and the radical differences in the goals to be attained. On the other hand, how can community organization become a popular movement if its purposes are vague and there is lack of agreement as to the methods to be followed? As a matter of fact, most of the worth-while experiments have sought to set up a routine procedure that could be widely and easily copied in different communities. Theoretically, this principle of adaptability to varying situations seems well established but it has not yet been fully carried out in current practice.

Field of Operation.—Community organization has been an integral part of the social work movement and has had its scope largely limited by this relationship. Recently a new point of view has been advanced which insists that whatever the form of community organization, it must be inclusive of the representative forces and interests in the community. If community organization means what the term implies, the entire community and not a limited portion of it should comprise its sphere of work. In actual practice, however, community organization is ordinarily used in a limited sense, as, for example, when it is concerned primarily with the federation of social agencies or the organization of the leisure time activities of a community. Even in the more inclusive efforts at community organization in small communities, the major institutions are not likely to be included in any thoroughgoing manner. The unity of action that is desired is often thought of with reference to a program of social service or civic improvement in which the coöperation of the indus-

trial and other fundamental forces is sought but only for the purpose of enlisting their support of this limited program. If the newer point of view is carried out with all its implications, community organization must give attention to the fundamental institutions of the community and not merely deal with the agencies that are specializing in the field of social welfare.

The Place of Local Initiative.—The experience of those engaged in community organization in small communities has led to the conclusion that success depends upon the possibility of developing adequate local leadership. It also is stated that undue domination of community work by national or state agencies is detrimental to local initiative. While there is a certain degree of truth in these statements, they can hardly yet be accepted as well-demonstrated principles upon which full reliance can be placed. Even in the small town, outside leaders are sought and welcomed in the school and the church, which would seem to indicate that the apparent prejudice against the outside community organizer is not fundamental and will disappear when the value of community work is better understood. Likewise, activities of state departments of public welfare and education have played an effective part in building up local communities and are generally recognized as essential for progress. The same thing is true of national organizations which in many fields of work have demonstrated their usefulness in stimulating local initiative. The proper use of outside leadership is still an open question which needs further investigation before reliable conclusions can be reached.

Administrative Functions.—One of the early principles of the community organization movement insisted that the correlating function must not be attempted by an organization to which is entrusted also administrative duties. The machinery set up to facilitate coöperation and correlation was to be limited to this specific purpose and was in no way to be burdened with an administrative program of its own. The

first councils of social agencies held strictly to this conception of their task, although this limitation of their sphere of work made impracticable in small cities the employment of a paid secretary and consequently retarded their growth and usefulness. In recent years financial federations of social agencies have not hesitated to take on certain administrative duties and this has been done apparently without decreasing their effectiveness in the field of correlation. Nevertheless, it has been pretty well established that community organization should not be under the direction of a local agency interested primarily in its own specific work.

Group Versus Community Interests.—Community loyalty grows out of the right kind of group relationships. Community organization does not supplant but integrates these relationships. The conflict between group and community is often more apparent than real and may disappear entirely when there is a full understanding of their inter-relations. The function of community organization is to facilitate contacts between groups and interpret their specific programs in terms of community welfare. Man's loyalty to the community as a whole is to a large degree determined by the nature and variety of his group interests.[1]

Interdependence of Communities.—The successful organization of small communities involves the recognition of the principle of intercommunity coöperation. Communities that are too small to accomplish certain desirable ends should seek coöperation with other communities nearby. However desirable community loyalty may be, it must not be insisted upon to the extent of making coöperation between communities impracticable. This principle is somewhat at variance with the tendency in some quarters to emphasize the value of local neighborhood autonomy and solidarity. Some hold that sound progress demands freedom on the part of individual communities to build up and maintain their own institutions.

[1] For an interesting discussion of group relationships, see Follett, *The New State*, Part I.

This undoubtedly has been the practice in the past, a practice that has been accentuated by the narrow provincial pride so characteristic of small communities. But the present more complex situation with the increasing diversity of our institutions and the heavy demands that are made upon them bring a burden upon the small community that it is often unable to bear without outside aid. If it can only be realized that communities lying adjacent to each other have common and not merely competing interests, forms of coöperation can be worked out that will be mutually profitable. Community organization, therefore, when dealing with small social units, may very properly become intercommunity organization.

Development of Coöperation.—Communities differ widely in their attitude toward coöperation, as is seen in the varying degrees of success of coöperative undertakings in various places. Ordinarily, community organization is impracticable in communities where habits of collective action have not been well established. In such communities community organization at first may well take the form of the promotion of collective activities of a simple nature designed to develop habits of acting together. These activities to be successful must have a wide appeal in order that they may provoke a community wide response. The community that has learned to coöperate on an economic basis, as, for example, in the development of a coöperative irrigation project or a coöperative store, is likely to be predisposed to a better organization of its other community activities.

Centralization of Functions.—While community organization is concerned primarily with the integration of the various interests and activities of a community, it leads inevitably toward a combination of functions as a step toward efficiency and economy of effort. This tendency toward centralization in community work is in line with current trends in other fields and is making considerable progress, although it seems to some to be contradictory to the democratic ideals of the community organization movement. From one point of view,

community organization operating as a device for the articulation of groups within the community fails to touch the real heart of the problem. A more fundamental adjustment will require a reorganization of community activities in which conflicts will be overcome by organic union rather than by relying entirely upon the principle of federation.

Selection of Program of Work.—The program of community organization must vary from place to place in accordance with local needs. In the early stages of community organization it is important that projects be chosen which represent vital needs closely affecting the welfare of a large number of people. It is also essential that they fit into current trends rather than run counter to generally accepted customs and traditions. After the purpose and value of community organization become better understood and the machinery has been accepted as an indispensable part of the community, more difficult projects can be undertaken without endangering the success of the whole movement. Prestige must be gained and momentum acquired before launching a program about which there will be a considerable difference of opinion among various community groups.

Developing Public Opinion.—In the development of public opinion favorable to community organization, educational publicity rather than propaganda should be used. This principle, which is generally accepted in theory, is frequently violated in practice. Much of the literature of community organization is popular and onesided in nature, and is frankly intended to make an emotional appeal. This is especially true of a considerable portion of the publicity given out by community chests during the time of their campaign for funds. Such emotional appeals usually possess the merit of bringing about quick results, but do not build up an intelligent constituency upon whose support reliance can be permanently placed.

Analysis of Communities.—Plans for the organization of a community should grow out of a thoroughgoing study of the

whole community situation. Such an analysis ought to include in addition to the institutional life of the community the nature of its leadership, and the attitudes, sentiments, and beliefs of the people. Of far-reaching importance also is an understanding of the customs and traditions which so largely determine ways of thinking and manner of life. For the community organizer, great significance attaches to the factional life of the people, those subtle forces or undercurrents of petty strife and conflict that so frequently disorganize communities and make consistent progress impossible. An analysis of this nature does more than throw light on the form of organization that should be adopted; it affords the background of knowledge necessary for the initiation of the projects agreed upon and their later development as the work proceeds.

Community Organization and Democracy.—Community organization involves both the active participation of the people in community affairs and the leadership of those best fitted to direct its activities. Among the various experiments that have been tried out in this field few have satisfactorily approximated this goal. Mere provision of opportunities for the people to work out their own plans and policies is not sufficient, for usually only a minority take advantage of such opportunities, and the results are frequently disappointing. On the other hand, when the natural leaders assume responsibilities on their own initiative as they do in a paternalistic regime, the effect on the people is likely to be depressing or may even lead to open revolt. What is needed is a plan of organization that will produce efficiency without imperilling democracy. The experiment of the Cincinnati Social Unit pointed out one method of accomplishing this result. Perhaps when the conditions of life become such that thorough coöperation is essential for community progress, a rational plan of community organization may be able to win a larger measure of public support.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Are there being built up in the field of community organization reliable methods of procedure comparable to what has been accomplished in social case work?

2. Have we reason to believe that the scope of community organization is being enlarged beyond the limits that have been set for it by the social workers. Is such a development impracticable?

3. Have any principles been established that make clear the place of outside leadership in community organization?

4. Is there any real conflict between group and community interests?

5. Has the principle of intercommunity coöperation been sufficiently demonstrated to justify its acceptance?

6. What type of coöperative project is more likely to succeed in a community where habits of coöperation have not yet been developed?

7. Is it practicable to make community programs fit in with current trends of popular interest?

8. What contributions, if any, has social theory made to the solution of the problems of community organization?

9. Make a list of the principles of community organization that in your opinion are worthy of general acceptation.

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CHAPTER XXIV

LIMITATIONS OF THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION MOVEMENT

Community organization, like many another popular movement, has been set forth by some of its enthusiastic advocates as a panacea for many of the ills of society. The high tide of humanitarian interest and of social reform has to a large degree in recent years expressed itself in this community movement which now commands a much more numerous and influential constituency than did any of the philanthropic efforts of the preceding century. Its various types of experiments have made a wide appeal to large numbers of people, and as a consequence it has taken the form in many instances of a crowd or mass movement in which the emotional appeal plays an extensive part. A group of people become aroused over imperfections in the social system, and forthwith call together the various agencies and institutions of a community and seek to launch a community wide campaign against the evils they have discovered. Whether or not the plan of action is well conceived, only a few may stop to inquire. It is sufficient if the cause is of an appealing nature and has a good purpose in view. People flock to its support and find their diversion in furthering its interests until their attention is attracted in some other direction. One of the great weaknesses of the community movement is this spasmodic hit-and-miss effort to accomplish results that are only vaguely outlined and not at all fully understood. Community organization, at its best, is of course a protest against such methods of procedure, but as a matter of fact much that parades under its name is no more thoughtfully worked

out than the ill-advised schemes it is designed to correct. The present trend toward crowd phenomena, as pointed out in a preceding chapter, has distinctly colored the community organization movement, and has made ineffective a great deal of the work it has set out to do.

Difficulties Inherent in the Community as a Social Unit. —One of the important limitations of community organization is found in the nature of the community itself as a unit of work. Frequently the community is ill-defined as to its boundaries and it may be so located that its natural limits cannot be satisfactorily determined. If located in a rural territory, or if it is the suburb of a great city, or even a geographical area within a city, it may have competing centers so that the allegiance of the people is divided and unity of action made thereby more difficult. Furthermore, communities vary widely in size, thus presenting additional problems that cannot easily be solved. In some cases the community may be too small and sparsely settled to make an efficient working unit. On the other hand, when the city becomes the unit of organization, it may be so large and its population so heterogeneous, that coöperative undertakings and correlation of effort seem to be impracticable. A great deal of course can be done through careful analysis and study in determining in any particular situation the unit most suitable for community organization. But in many instances the vital factors are topography, density of population, heterogeneous groups of people, and other features that are entirely beyond the control of the community worker. Under such circumstances it is apparent that community organization is sharply limited and may fail no matter what plan is adopted.

With the rapid growth of better means of transportation and communication, the local community does not possess the significance that it has had in the past. The ready mobility of the people has broken down former barriers of isolation, and has encouraged the development of interests that

require outside contacts in order to be satisfied. This modern tendency to build up associations on a widely selective rather than on a neighborhood basis is affecting all communities, even those of the small town and open country types, with the result that an appeal to the people to unite on a community basis has lost somewhat of its earlier force. The community as a geographical unit apparently presents increasing difficulties to the community organizer in spite of all the progress that has recently been made in getting a better understanding of community life.

Limitations Growing out of its Narrow Conception.—The community movement is, to a large extent, an outgrowth of the activities of social workers. Community organization has generally been thought of either as a coördination of social agencies or as an effort to unite the community in support of a social service program. Developed in this manner and for this specific purpose, it is perhaps inevitable that community organization should be popularly regarded as only indirectly concerned with the educational, religious, economic, and political problems of the community.

As long as the community movement was confined to the large cities where the complexity of the situation makes necessary a high degree of specialization, the unfortunate effects of this limited conception were not so plainly apparent. But with the spread of experiments in community organization to small cities, towns, and the open country, it became clear that the working unit must be the entire community with all its major interests. This has led, in some instances, to the establishment of a community council which comprises all the important organizations interested in the broad field of community improvement. The weakness of this plan is that it usually brings together these various groups merely for the purpose of correlating their social service activities and enlisting their support of social service programs. The more important factor which is too frequently overlooked is the necessity of dealing with such disorganizing forces as are fre-

quently found in the fields of religion, industry, and politics, which make consistent community progress impossible. Business interests are enlisted in the community organization movement without laying upon them the responsibility of building up local industries in such a manner that they will be an asset and not a liability of the community. The participation of the churches in community organization is gladly welcomed, but it is not supposed to include determined efforts to overcome the divisive influence of sectarian strife. Corrupt politics may be winked at and patiently endured as long as political leaders seem to be doing nothing directly antagonistic to the work of social agencies. As long as community organization fails to include all that its name implies, it must be regarded as a very inadequate attempt to reorganize the forces of community life.

Lack of Adequate Diagnosis.—Community organization has too frequently proceeded on the assumption that all communities of similar size are essentially alike; or if not, their needs and problems are similar, and, therefore, a standardized method of treatment should be followed. This idea has to a great extent been fostered by some national organizations that have as one of their purposes the promotion of local units in as many localities as possible. In the establishment of these local branches the methods of the salesman are often used. Sometimes the situation is first diagnosed through a brief survey, but this may be merely a gesture that leads to the desired conclusion that the community surveyed needs the precise program that the national organization is promoting. There is apparently no escape from the widely disseminated propaganda designed to convince the people of a community of the superior virtue of a particular method of community organization. When it is recalled that there are at least fifteen or twenty outstanding types of experiments in community organization which find their basis in different theories of social philosophy, the absurdity of offering them at random to any community as a panacea for its problems is

plainly evident. Certainly no one experiment thus far has greatly outdistanced its rivals in the attempt to demonstrate its superior value. And even if it can be shown that all these experiments are of real worth, there still remains the difficult but necessary problem of selecting the types most applicable to a given situation.

Ordinarily, the community diagnosis that has been relied upon to meet this problem has concerned itself chiefly with setting forth the needs of the community and the evils that should be remedied. It has not taken many studies of this kind to reveal the obvious fact that community needs and problems are much the same everywhere, a fact that has lent color to the common assumption that standardized remedies ought to have wide application. In so far as this method of community diagnosis has been followed, it is somewhat comparable to long out-of-date methods of social case work where the effort was placed upon classifying the individual or family with reference to the type of problems presented as a preliminary to the routine treatment prescribed in such a case. Such a superficial procedure fails to disclose the real causes of the individual or family breakdown and therefore is no longer relied upon as a safe guide for social treatment. The best modern technique of case work includes a much more penetrating analysis in which the emphasis is upon individual differences rather than upon types of problems. Likewise, in the field of community organization, there must be a similar advance in the technique of diagnosis before reliable methods of community control can be evolved.

An inevitable result of any thoroughgoing community analysis is the conviction that communities, like individuals, are capable of infinite variation. Those who see a monotonous sameness in the Main Streets the country over are misled by superficial appearances. The outward pattern may be strikingly similar, but beneath the surface forces are at work that make each community different from every other. The community movement, therefore, in its widespread use of

standardized programs has adopted a method ill-suited to community needs. The lack of emphasis upon more fundamental community studies has been one of the serious limitations that have made ineffective much that has been attempted in the field of community organization.

Overemphasis upon Administrative Devices.—In general the various experiments in community organization may quite readily be classified with reference to different theories of administration. Some are intended to make possible direct participation of the people, others are inclined to rely upon the principle of federation, while still others insist on the value of benevolent paternalism. Much ingenuity has been expended in developing various administrative devices designed to put into effect these and other closely related theories. From this point of view community organization is simply a carefully planned device to make coöperation among social agencies more effective. It is believed that if only the right sort of organization could be built up, it would be a simple matter to unite all the forces of the community in a comprehensive program.

Community organization, necessarily, has its administrative aspects and to these due attention must be given. Machinery is needed to facilitate unity of effort, and it is by no means easy to build up a plan of organization that will accomplish the desired purpose. The sharp differences of opinion as to the proper type of administrative control and the best methods of enlisting democratic support are an inevitable part of a wide-awake movement and merit careful study and consideration. But when a large share of the discussion of the community organization movement is limited to methods of organizing community councils or to the development of devices intended to make a community center more efficient, it is apparent that the over-emphasis on administrative problems is likely to throw into the background the more fundamental factors that make or mar community solidarity. In spite of all the efforts that have been made to develop suit-

able plans of organization, communities still continue to grow in a more or less haphazard manner, community agencies and institutions do not make great progress in correlating their work, and the forces of disorganization still possess immense power. In view of these facts it would be well to inquire whether the development of methods of organization and administration have not gone too far in advance of an understanding of the processes of community change and community control. Perhaps also there has been too great reliance upon the assumption that administrative devices could deal effectively with a problem as far-reaching as community disorganization.

Lack of Well-qualified Leadership.—Community organization, like business, teaching, and social work in general, is sufficiently non-technical in nature to make it possible for persons possessing a general education and good personality to direct acceptably many of its activities. Moreover, its technical requirements are so little understood by the rank and file of the people that they do not always insist upon professional training when community leaders are employed. This attitude toward community work as a profession has brought into the movement many leaders of small vision and mediocre ability capable only of directing routine activities of a popular nature. In the larger and more important positions trained workers of real ability may be found and this is also true of some of the minor positions in small communities in the more progressive sections of the country. But on the whole, the community movement has been held back by the frequency with which people without professional training are able to find vocational opportunities in this field. Their personalities and quality of work have determined the prevailing patterns and have placed a characteristic stamp upon the whole movement which makes difficult the development of high standards. The chief difficulty is that the more superficial types of work are likely to be most popular, and consequently a premium is placed on the type of

leadership that can make a spectacular showing by catering to the whims and fancies of the people in their efforts to deal with social problems. As long as this is the case, community organization is not likely to attract many leaders of real ability who have taken time for adequate preparation for their task.

Limitations Involved in the Movement Itself.—Correlation and adjustment cannot be regarded as the final solution of the community problem. The confusion and chaos that grows out of the multiplicity of agencies and institutions can be alleviated through a better coördination of the forces of community life, but such a method of improvement is obviously a makeshift and a compromise measure that cannot go to the root of the trouble. What many communities need is not a correlation of their social forces, although this would be a step forward in the direction of efficiency; their chief requirement is a more fundamental reorganization that will abolish outgrown agencies and establish machinery for community functions on a more rational basis. This may be seen in the religious field where all efforts to overcome the sectarian strife of the past have stopped short with the development of denominationalism with only remote prospects of attaining a better degree of religious unity. Similarly among social agencies the most commonly accepted machinery for bringing about adjustments is the federation which frequently can do little more than bring about nominal coöperation among agencies that are inadequately equipped or have outlived their usefulness.

Community organization must be regarded as a transition movement, very much needed at the present time, but powerless to usher in the new era of efficiency and unity for which its best leaders are working. Assimilation and not accommodation must be the real goal of the community movement. While community organization as a step in this direction is of the utmost value, the limitations growing out of the nature of the movement itself must be clearly recognized.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What are some of the limitations of the community organization movement that are inherent in the nature of the task it has set out to accomplish?
2. Is the community a social unit that lends itself readily to purposes of organization?
3. How far can we expect to go in determining satisfactorily the natural boundaries of communities?
4. Is the declining significance of the community tending to make less important the various types of organization planned on a community basis?
5. Does the experience in the field of community organization give reason to believe that the technique it has developed will be effective in dealing with the disorganizing forces in politics, industry, and religion?
6. Show how the tendency in the direction of uniformity of method has limited the success of the community organization movement.
7. Has there yet been developed a method of community diagnosis that furnishes the information needed by the community organizer?
8. Is it correct to say that administrative problems have been given too large a place in community organization?
9. In so far as community organization involves the problem of community change, is it possible to accomplish adequate results as long as the principles of social control are so little understood?
10. To what extent has the community organization movement been handicapped by lack of adequately trained leadership?

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CHAPTER XXV

PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION FOR COMMUNITY WORK

The Apprentice Method of Training.—The traditional preparation for social work has been based almost entirely upon the apprenticeship system. The general public has never strongly insisted that the social worker possess a scientific equipment comparable to that required of the physician and the engineer. The tendency has been to lay special emphasis on such factors as work-experience and personal qualities when positions were to be filled. In this respect the history of social work has simply repeated the early experience of the other professions. The chief difference is that social work is still comparatively new, and as a consequence its apprenticeship method of training occupies a position of greater influence than it does now in the older and better established professions.

As long as preparation for social work was secured in this traditional manner, emphasis was quite naturally placed on work-experience rather than on scientific studies. The chief purpose of the training was to give a mastery of the technique of the particular social agency with which the student was working. Since the first schools of social work were but little more than extensions of the apprenticeship system, they followed the same general plan of instruction. A large share of the student's time was given to practical work with social agencies. Class-room work, of course, was not neglected, but it dealt mainly with social problems. Instruction was usually given by persons actively engaged in some form of social work, whose interest was primarily in technique rather than in re-

search. Without doubt these practical courses met a real need and their value should not be overlooked. Those receiving training through this apprenticeship method were acceptable to social agencies and fitted readily into available positions. A very considerable number of the present leaders in social work, both public and private, are products of this old system of training. As far as the past is concerned, practical experience with a social agency was a suitable means of entrance into social work and frequently led to positions of real importance.

The Place of the Social Sciences in the Professional School.—But while this type of training has much to commend it, it was inevitable that its adequacy to meet the demands of a rapidly growing profession should be called into question. The tendency of this traditional system to lay emphasis upon immediate needs rather than on a thorough scientific foundation was clearly not in accord with the development of high professional standards. Within recent years a strong effort has been made to build the curricula of schools of social work on the foundation of scientific studies. It is apparent that as long as students are permitted to plunge into technical courses of social work without careful study of the sciences that deal with the social order, it is impossible to bring these courses up to the standards required by the other professions. Any effort to continue to find the proper basis of education for social work in general education and practical experience simply harks back to the early beginnings of professional education in other fields when short cuts to efficiency were the accepted procedure.

If technical instruction in social work is to be based on the social sciences, what is the extent of the foundation that should be required? Certainly the minimum requirement would seem to be the usual undergraduate courses in sociology, economics, political science, psychology, and biology. It is difficult to see how anything less could give the student a scientific equipment comparable to that which is expected

of a student entering a medical school. The value of such a requirement is now quite generally recognized by those interested in the professional education of social workers. The practical difficulty of putting it into effect arises from the fact that many seek admission to professional schools of social work who have never adequately studied the social sciences because either of a lack of a college education or of a failure to include these subjects in their college course. On the other hand, to provide for thorough instruction in these subjects in the professional school is objected to on the ground that it would unduly prolong the period of training. At present there seems to be no practical way out of this dilemma for those schools that provide a one or two year course of study and at the same time keep their doors open to those who have not had the requisite pre-professional studies.

Nevertheless, if social work is to be a profession and not merely a trade, adequate attention to scientific studies must form a very considerable part of the preparation of social workers. The fact that at present it seems necessary to adapt the course of training to the needs of mature persons of practical experience, but without a suitable educational background, is in itself a striking commentary on the field of social work as well as on the status of social work education. It is by raising the requirements for admission into the field of social work rather than by making the entrance easy for larger numbers that there will be attracted into this profession those most capable of carrying out successfully its obligations.

Early Experiments in Training for Social Work.—The early schools of social work which grew out of the very definite demand for trained workers in the case work field built up their curricula with the needs of this type of social worker in view. The central feature of the course of study was case work technique, and the field work carried along with the class-room discussion was secured with case work agencies. Under the circumstances comparatively little at-

tention was paid to preparation for community work carried on by social settlements and other agencies, and when courses applicable to their needs were included in the curriculum, they were regarded as merely supplementary to the main purpose of the school. The community, however, was by no means neglected, for there was always insistence upon knowledge of community resources, and the students were of course expected to be familiar with community organization as directed by a case work agency.

During the past few years the growing emphasis on different types of community activities has brought about corresponding modifications in the curricula of most of the schools of social work. In some cases this has meant nothing more than adding a course or two in community problems to the traditional curriculum without any special recognition that community work constitutes a field requiring definite preparation. In other instances, there has been a reorganization of the curriculum to the extent of establishing a department of community organization with a sequence of courses that make it possible for a student to get vocational training in that field. A notable example of this is the New York School of Social Work which, starting a few years ago with a course in community problems, has developed a department of community organization offering courses and field work extending over a period of two years. Among the colleges and universities, Ohio State University was the first to announce a year of graduate work in the administration of social agencies, designed specifically for the training of executives of community chests and welfare federations. The School of Public Welfare of the University of North Carolina probably represents the widest departure from the traditional point of view in its conception of its task as primarily that of training community workers fitted for leadership in dealing with the social problems of the small cities and rural communities in the South.

Some Problems Involved in Training for Community Work.

—But while the pendulum seems to be swinging over to the side of training for community work, there is unfortunately no agreement as to what should constitute this training. An analysis of the statements submitted by the different schools explaining their procedure in this field forces the conviction that each school is approaching the problem from an independent point of view. In a few cases, it is frankly stated that no attempt is being made to train definitely for community work. Others seem to feel that they have paid adequate attention to the community when they have given incidental instruction in community resources and social work administration. Or again, training is limited to the recreational side of community work. Very few pay much attention to field work involving participation in the organization of communities. Sometimes community organization is looked upon as a blanket course covering a wide range of subject matter that does not fit well into any other course. Another tendency is to rely on fundamental courses dealing with the principles of community progress with a minimum of attention to the technique of community work.

This extremely varied procedure in the different schools is to a large extent due to the differences in the prevailing conception of community work. Among the more important activities usually listed under this heading may be mentioned the neighborhood work carried on by social settlements, organized efforts in the field of community recreation, the work of agencies that deal with groups within the community, activities of civic organizations along lines of public welfare, the organization and administration of councils of social agencies and welfare federations, the study of community needs and resources, the development of community centers, and efforts to promote community welfare under the leadership of such institutions as the school and the church. While this seems to cover a wide field, the common principle running through it all is clearly expressed in this statement issued by Ohio State University: "Community social work as

distinguished from social case work has as its purpose the promotion of the welfare of the entire population of a community, or some group or section of the community, without attempting to select out particular needy individuals or family groups for treatment." The activities, therefore, listed under community work certainly form a logical and consistent group that may very well become a definite unit of instruction. The different types of community work are hardly more divergent than those usually listed under social case work which includes such activities as family case work, child welfare, psychiatric social work, and medical-social service. Their importance also is not open to serious question, and consequently the development of adequate standards of instruction in community work is a task that merits careful consideration.

One of the first questions that arises is the proper place of community work in the curriculum of the professional school. Shall the present course of study simply be extended by adding several courses dealing with community problems and organization? Or shall community organization form a separate department coördinate with social case work, criminology, social research, etc.? While these are administrative questions of real importance, it is doubtful if they go to the heart of the real problem. The tendency has been to assume that the community is simply another unit of work coördinate with the family and having its appropriate technique which should form the chief subject of instruction. Community work, it is true, has its varied activities and methods of procedure, and when considered from this point of view presents the usual opportunities for practical instruction in technique. But it is very evident that community work is taking on a new significance as efforts are made to correlate the work of social agencies and deal with the whole problem of social welfare in a well-balanced instead of a piecemeal fashion. It is not simply another phase of social work, such as social psychiatry, which has recently loomed above the hor-

izon and has taken its place along with other specialities. On the contrary, in its broadest sense it touches in a general way all the activities that enter into the work of social welfare, and therefore the community worker must be first of all characterized by breadth of knowledge of social forces and relations and by capacity for constructive leadership. Obviously the preparation of leaders who can measure up to these demands is a distinct challenge to schools of social work, and cannot be carried out satisfactorily by blindly following traditional methods of training.

The Case Method of Instruction in Community Work.—One of the newer methods of instruction in community work is the analysis and study of community case records. Those who advocate this method regard community work as a technique that has been evolved out of the experience of community agencies, the general assumption being that the student will discover a definite technique of handling communities through a careful study of the steps actually taken in solving community problems.

In any consideration of this case method of instruction, it must be kept in mind that the larger the social unit dealt with, the more complicated are the factors entering into the situation, and consequently the more difficult it becomes to trace the connection between cause and effect. It is not only that no two community situations are precisely alike, for this can be said also of individuals and families. The real difficulty is to isolate the social forces of community life and determine the part that each plays in successive stages of community development. Certain general principles will indeed stand out with reasonable clearness, and here we have a beginning of scientific procedure in community work. It is useless to assume, however, that we have gone far enough at the present time to have available for professional students a definite technique that can be imparted in an authoritative manner. Herein lies a serious danger in present methods of instruction in community work. To give students who may

have no adequate understanding of the principles of social organization and social progress a superficial knowledge of methods followed in organizing communities is as serious a mistake as to try to develop civil engineers through shop practice without any thorough study of the principles of mechanics. Practical training that lacks a proper scientific foundation is never the ideal method to follow, and is especially inadvisable in community work which is not yet sufficiently understood to make a standardized technique available. What is needed is not routine workers, but leaders equipped to analyze community situations and capable of working out their own methods of procedure.

Field Work Training in Community Organization.—Field work training in community organization is still in the experimental stage. Until recently the professional schools of social work were chiefly interested in developing case-work technicians, and paid little attention to the organizing functions of the social worker. From the ranks of these technicians, it was expected, would later come the executives and social work leaders, but their attainment of such positions depended more upon their innate ability and practical experience than upon any definite attention to the problems of organization during their period of training in the professional school.

Past experience in social work education made clear that case work is not merely fundamental for the social worker but is also admirably adapted to what may be called the clinical training of students. Problems of organization and administration, on the other hand, are of such a nature that experience in handling them can best come through a more or less prolonged period of apprenticeship training following the completion of the formal course of study in the school. This applies especially to the kind of field work training in community organization that is available with highly specialized agencies in our large cities. The only exceptions to it may possibly be found in certain kinds of group work, and in the promotion and development of social agencies in small

communities where social work has as yet made but little progress. In situations of this latter kind, case work and community work dove-tail together in the solution of social problems. When students are assigned a family problem in such communities, their case work may involve the organization of a needed social agency or necessitate the promotion of different kinds of community work. While field work of this nature is by no means simple, and may exceed the capacity of all except the best students, it does stand out as a possible method of field work training for those interested in community organization.

On the other hand, the community work that is ordinarily directed by a welfare federation cannot well be participated in by inexperienced students who have only a limited time at their disposal. Except under unusual circumstances their work-experience is likely not to go beyond certain administrative details including perhaps a share in the preparation of some forms of publicity. For effective field work training in all except the more simple aspects of community work, students must be prepared to serve an apprenticeship following their course of study.

The Function of the Professional School in Training Community Workers.—The professional school of social work of the older type was in a position to do little more than facilitate the acquirement of the techniques insisted upon by the social agencies. In so far as community work consists of methods of organization and administration, the professional school might very well have included this type of training as a part of its regular curriculum. As a matter of fact this was not done to any wide extent since these qualifications of the social worker were looked upon more as a product of experience than as a result of specific training.

If, however, community organization is regarded as primarily a problem in social control, the rôle of the professional school assumes a new importance. The research and experimentation necessary for a better understanding of the fac-

tors that underlie community progress may very properly be made a responsibility of the professional school which should possess facilities for social research of this kind. Progress in this direction has thus far been slow because the professional schools have generally been more interested in technique than in throwing light on the fundamental nature of the whole problem. In the future they must be prepared to do their full part in creative work and not merely be content to transmit to their students the imperfect results of experience in the organization of community life.

The Community Worker as a Student of Social Science.—The provincial bias which is the bane of professional work is especially unfortunate in the community worker because his task touches life at so many points and demands an appreciation of widely different attempts to improve the social order. To an even greater extent than the lawyer, doctor, or engineer, his influence depends upon his ability to work with men representing various points of view. The social reformer may be a person of one idea, but not the community worker. If the latter is to succeed, his mind must not only be kept open to new suggestions, but he must be continually seeking from every possible source light on his complex problems. This demands wide reading in the social sciences, the continued study of books that may at times seem far removed from problems of immediate, practical interest. It is not enough that such a background of knowledge has been secured through professional studies. There is perhaps no field in which changes are occurring with greater rapidity than in the social sciences. Those who fail to renew their foundation face the danger of continuing allegiance to outworn principles.

It is of course taken for granted that community workers keep up in the technical literature of their specialized fields of activity. This represents the minimum reading requirements of any person who lays claim to professional standing. To keep abreast of the times even in this technical reading is

no light task, especially in view of the close interdependence of all phases of community work. The problems in this field lead out in many directions, so that all the resources of social science must be called into requisition in the search for fundamental causes and remedies. The test of a community worker's ability to meet his responsibilities is found in his attitude toward this wider field of study.

All this gives point to the conclusion that the community worker must accept as a part of his task a never ending search for the best thought concerning human progress. To many whose work is of such a nature that the time for serious, consecutive reading is very limited, this wide acquaintance with social science literature may seem entirely impracticable. The large amount of material that is constantly being published makes this task appear appalling. And of even greater importance is the difficulty of sustaining interest in a serious book that must be read at odd moments over a considerable period of time. Without the aid of a teacher or class discussion such an interest may be difficult to maintain. The reader who unaided ventures into a field with which he is not entirely familiar will not get very far unless what he reads has some definite bearing upon facts growing out of his own observation or experience. If the community worker can acquire the habit of looking upon books as tools to give aid in the solution of problems, the task of reading will appear much less formidable. Books read for this purpose will not likely be set aside and forgotten, for many occasions will arise for their continued use. Through the development of these habits of careful reading and study, the community worker will find his interests broadened and his mind more keenly alert to grasp the significance of the problems he is continually facing. The education of the community worker must be looked upon as a life-long task in which it is of the highest importance that the doors of knowledge should always be kept open.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. How do you explain the continued persistence of the apprenticeship method of training in the field of social work?
2. Have the social sciences developed to the point where they should be regarded as basic in the curricula of schools of social work?
3. Does community organization have a technique of its own which can be made a subject of instruction in professional schools?
4. Should training in case work precede instruction in community organization?
5. What subjects should be included in a course of training designed specifically for preparation in the field of community organization?
6. What are some of the problems involved in practice work for students preparing to enter this field?
7. Does the case method of instruction seem applicable to community organization?
8. Name the schools of social work that have laid emphasis upon education for community work.

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INDEX

Adams, H. C., 98
Agne, Royal, 237
Allport, F. H., 357, 389
American Association of Social Workers, 313, 315
American Country Life Association, 154, 155
American Red Cross, bureau of community studies, 191; plan of organization, 219, 220; entrance into community work, 223-225; experiments in rural organization, 226-229; disaster relief, 229-233; value as a community agency, 233-236; health centers, 288-290; supervision of chapters, 333
Apprenticeship Method of Training, 378
Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 103, 104
Armstrong, D. B., 297, 315

Bailey, W. L., 28
Baldwin, J. M., 69
Baldwin, R. N., 98
Barnes, H. E., 14
Benjamin, Paul, 237
Braucher, H. S., 134, 314
Branson, E. C., 54
Breckinridge, S. P., 275, 283
Brown, W. H., 293, 297
Bogardus, E. S., 389
Boston Health League, 291
Bowman, L. E., 134, 366
Burchard, E. L., 149, 150
Burgess, E. W., 28, 69, 203, 329, 357, 366
Burr, Walter, 28, 168
Burns, A. T., 98, 366, 376
Butterfield, K. L., 154, 168, 329
Byington, M. F., 119, 203, 316, 366

Carver, T. N., 168
Case Histories of Communities, 196-198
Case Conference, 107
Case Method of Instruction in Community Work, 384
Central Council of Social Agencies, 109; nature and purpose, 171, 172; methods of work, 173, 175; results accomplished, 175
Chapin, F. S., 389
Charities and Commons, The, 189
Charities Endorsement, 106
Charity Organization Movement, rise of, 101; beginnings in America, 103; contribution to community organization, 107-109
Chicago Council of Social Agencies, 176
Churches, multiplicity of, 44, 45
Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies, 178, 179
Cincinnati Social Unit Organization, its origin, 239; health program, 243; political implications, 248-250; contribution to community organization, 250-251
Cliques, significance of, 36-38
City Health Federations, 290-292
Cleveland Health Federation, 292
Cleveland Foundation, surveys by, 190, 192-194
Cleveland Welfare Federation, 178-179
Collier, John, 139
Columbus Council of Social Agencies, 175-176
Community, associate and federate, 16; evolution of, 20-22;

classification, 22, 23; significance of, 24, 25; organizations of, 26; disorganization of, 30; primitive, 56; clash with individual interests, 58-61
COMMUNITY CHURCH, example of, 208-210; limitations, 212-214; significance, 214-216
COMMUNITY COUNCIL, 162-164
COMMUNITY DIAGNOSIS, lack of adequate, 371-372
COMMUNITY HEALTH DEMONSTRATION, 292-294
COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP, lack of well qualified, 374
COMMUNITY MOVEMENT, relation to social work, 9, 10
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, its rise, 319, 320; popular conceptions of, 321-323; essential nature, 323-325; administrative aspects, 325-326; as a problem of social change, 327, 328; classification of theories, 330, 331
COMMUNITY SERVICE (Incorporated), 129-132
COMMUNITIES, interdependence of, 61-64
COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY, provincial aspects of, 57, 58; achievement of, 64-68
COMMUNITY WORK, problems involved in training for, 383, 384
CONFLICT AND RIVALRY, 64, 65
COÖRDINATION, in field of relief, 105-107; of public and private social agencies, 278-281; of health agencies, 294-296; of state agencies, 305, 306; of national agencies, 311
COOLEY, C. H., 14, 54, 69, 87, 389
COÖPERATION, 66, 67, 363
CRISIS, relation to social change, 76; importance in community work, 77, 78
CROWD SPIRIT, community organization a protest against, 353-355
CROWD METHODS IN COMMUNITY WORK, 350-352
COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, 160, 336
COUNTY CASE COMMITTEE, 301-304
COUNTY PLAN OF ORGANIZATION, 160, 225
COUNTRY LIFE COMMISSION, 153
COUNTRY LIFE MOVEMENT, its origin, 153, 154; significant trends, 165-167
CULTURAL LAG, hypothesis of, 94
CURRY, IDA, 168
CURTIS, H. S., 134
CUSTOM, its origin, 70; obstacle to community progress, 72-74; stabilizing influence of, 74, 75

DAVIS, O. W., 186
DEACON, J. B., 237
DETROIT COMMUNITY UNION, 181
DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, 365
DEVINE, E. T., 98, 174, 186, 247, 253, 346
DEWEY, EVELYN, 150
DEWEY, JOHN, 87
DIFFENDORFER, R. E., 17
DINWIDDIE, COURTENAY, 245, 253, 297, 316
DISORGANIZATION, meaning, 30; relation to personal demoralization, 32, 33; mobility and, 34; economic aspects of, 45-47; example of, 47-52
DOUGLAS, H. P., 28

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY WORK, 89, 96, 97
ECONOMIC CHANGE, process of, 90, 92; relation to social change, 92-95
EDLUND, R. C., 62, 63, 69, 186
ELMER, M. C., 203
EMERSON, HAVEN, 245
EMOTIONAL APPEALS IN COMMUNITY WORK, 350-356

FARM BUREAU PLAN OF ORGANIZATION, 160-162
FIELD WORK TRAINING IN COMMUNITY WORK, 385
FINANCIAL FEDERATION, early beginnings, 177, 178; types of organization, 179-182; principles of federation practice, 182-184
FOLLETT, M. P., 14, 18, 69, 362

Ford, James, 376
Fulk, J. R., 134

Galpin, C. J., 28, 153, 168, 203
Geddes, Patrick, 203
Gillette, J. M., 168, 389
Gillin, J. L., 119, 207, 208, 377
Gladden, Washington, 217
Group Consciousness, growth of, 5, 6
Groves, E. R., 87
Guild, F. H., 168
Gwin, J. B., 238

Habit, a factor in conservatism, 75, 76; community progress and, 79
Hagerty, J. E., 389
Halbert, L. A., 134, 277, 283, 377
Halifax Disaster, 76
Hampden County Improvement League, 62, 63
Hanifan, L. J., 150
Hanmer, L. F., 134
Harrison, Shelby, 203
Hart, J. K., 14, 54, 69, 329, 338, 346, 377, 389
Harvey, M. T., 150
Haydem, Joel, 206, 217
Hayes, A. W., 28, 346
Health Center, 285-290
Heiss, M. W., 264, 272
Hinckley, T. L., 54
Home Service of the Red Cross, 221
Hoyer, R. A., 69

Ihlder, John, 186
Industrial Communities, development of, 254; organization of, 255-259
Industrial Welfare Work, 269-271
Institute of Social and Religious Research, 191
Institutional Church, 205
Interchurch World Movement, religious surveys of, 191
Interdependence of Communities, 362

Jackson, H. E., 150
Japan, social changes in, 93
Jensen, H. E., 283
Johnson, F. R., 186
Johnson, K. B., 283

Keller, A. G., 92, 95, 98
Kelso, R. W., 283
Kingsley, Sherman, 187
Kolb, J. H., 28
Krupp Steel Works, industrial welfare work of, 256
Kuhlman, A. F., 284
Klu Klux Klan, 350

Laissez Faire, breakdown of, 3-5
Lakeman, Curtis, 297
LeBon, Gustave, 357
Lee, Joseph, 28, 135
Lee, Porter R., 316
Leebron, Harvey, 187
Limitations of Community Organization, 368-375
Lindeman, E. C., 23, 28, 168, 284, 329, 331, 367, 377, 389
Lippman, Walter, 87
Logan, J. C., 284, 298, 316
London Charity Organization Society, 102
Lowrie, S. Gale, 249, 250, 253

Maine Public Health Association, 305
Mansfield Child Health Demonstration, 292, 293
Martin, E. D., 347, 357
Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association, 120
McClenahan, B. A., 28, 203, 284, 367
McDowell, M. E., 28
McKenzie, R. D., 19, 20, 28, 54, 69
McLean, F. H., 171, 187
Milwaukee Child Welfare Commission, 239
Milwaukee Council of Social Agencies, 176
Mining Community, organization of, 259, 260
Morgan, E. L., 153, 169

National Child Health Council, 293, 312
National Community Center Association, 139, 154

National Conference of Social Work, 313, 315, 333
National Education Association, 138, 139
National Health Council, 312
National Social Agencies, disorganization of, 42; lack of coördination, 306-310
National Social Work Council, 313, 314
National Social Unit Organization, 240-251
Neighborhood, meaning of, 18-20
New York State Charities Aid Association, 276
Nichols, J. P., 265, 272
North Carolina System of Public Welfare, 276-278
Norton, W. H., 38, 39

Odum, H. W., 284
Ogburn, W. F., 87
Ohio State Council of Social Agencies, 301-304
Olivet Institute of Chicago, 205
Organizations, multiplicity of, 35

Park, R. E., 19, 28, 69, 203, 329, 357
Pennsylvania System of Public Welfare, 208
Perry, C. E., 29, 141, 150, 168
Persons, W. F., 180, 187
Pettit, W. W., 316
Phelan, John, 169, 217
Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, 108, 170
Phillips, W. C., 239, 253, 286
Platt, P. S., 286, 287, 297
Playground and Recreation Association of America, 122, 133
Playgrounds, Chicago system of, 123; tendency toward municipal control, 124
Pittsburgh Survey, 189
Prince, S. H., 87
Principles of Community Organization, 359-365
Professional School of Social Work, social science in, 379
Public and Private Social Agencies, methods of coördination, 278-281
Public Health Movement, 285-296
Public Welfare, state systems of, 274-276; county departments of, 276, 278; relation to community organization, 281, 282
Pullman, organization of, 257

Queen, S. A., 14, 17, 18, 29, 119, 269, 272, 331, 346

Rainwater, C. E., 121, 135, 377
Recreation, as a municipal function, 122; on a neighborhood basis, 124, 125; in war camp communities, 126; under direction of voluntary agencies, 129-132
Robinson, J. H., 54, 87
Ross, E. A., 87, 329, 357
Rural Community Buildings, 164, 165
Rural Organization, 155, 156; difficulties of, 156, 157; unit of work, 157, 158
Russell Sage Foundation, department of surveys and exhibits, 190

Sanderson, Dwight, 15, 19, 29, 44, 69, 98, 169, 217, 329, 330, 338, 344, 346, 367, 377
School Community Center, its rise, 136-139; methods of administration, 140-143; activities, 143-145; limitations, 145, 146; contributions to community organization, 146-149
Sectarianism, disorganizing influence of, 43
Sims, N. L., 23, 29, 169
Sioux Falls, disorganization of, 307-310
Small, A. W., 258
Snedden, David, 15, 16, 29
Social Science, in the professional school, 379; as a tool for the community worker, 387
Social Service Exchange, 105
Social Settlement, its beginnings, 112, 113; philosophy, 113-115; activities of, 115, 116;

contribution to community organization, 116
Social Survey, early beginnings, 188-190; means of community organization, 194-196; used for propaganda, 199, 200; for scientific investigation, 200-202
Social Work, scientific method and, 11-13; disorganization in, 38-40
Southern Cotton Mill Village, 261-266; paternalistic control of, 340-342
State Council of Social Agencies, 301-304
Sumner, W. G., 3, 4, 14, 87

Tannenbaum, Frank, 272, 358
Taylor, G. R., 135, 272, 346
Theories of Community Organization, individualism, 331; supervision, 332; federation, 335; democratic participation, 337; paternalism, 340; amalgamation, 342
Thomas, W. I., 54, 75, 87
Training for Social Work, early experiments in, 380, 381
Todd, A. J., 98, 272, 367
Toynbee, Hall, 112
Tufts, J. H., 377, 389

United Charities of Chicago, 104

Vaile, Gertrude, 284
Vested Interests, capitalism, 80; political, 82; ecclesiastical, 83; educational, 85
Voght, P. L., 29, 217

Watson, F. D., 109, 119, 171
War Camp Community Service, 126-128
Ward, E. J., 137, 150
Ward, L. F., 5
Warner, A. G., 119
Weller, C. F., 135
White, E. W., 150
Wilson, W. H., 29, 153, 217
Wing, Virginia, 238
Wolfe, A. B., 87
Wood, A. E., 329
Woodland Center of Cleveland, 205

Zueblin, Charles, 135

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